5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

ODO

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 4

THE CIRCUM-CARIBBEAN TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee for Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office,
Washington 25, D. C.

[p 1]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

THE CARIB

By Irving Rouse

INTRODUCTION

174 The *Carib*, like the *Arawak*, were South American in origin. According to their traditions, they came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus; by his time they had succeeded in conquering all the Lesser Antilles and probably also the northeastern part of Trinidad, exterminating the *Arawak* men who formerly lived there and taking their wives as slaves. They were conducting raids upon the *Arawak* of the Greater Antilles, but there is no confirmation of reports that they had settled anywhere in that territory, except possibly in spots on the eastern end of Puerto Rico.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Very little work has been done on *Carib* archeology. Some writers, however, have assigned to the *Carib* all the archeological remains in the Lesser Antilles described above as *Arawak*. In view of the shortness of the time during which the *Carib* inhabited the Lesser Antilles, this is not likely. The only possibly authentic *Carib* site known to the writer is the place at Banana Bay on the small island of Balliceaux to which the English moved the *Black Carib* in 1797. Fewkes (1922, p. 89), who made a study of this site, has not described the material found.[1]

[583] Additional *Carib* sites will undoubtedly be found in the future, but it should be difficult to identify them because of the fact that the *Carib* wives were often captive *Arawak* women, who probably made the pottery and other objects which survive in the sites according to their own customs. A study of the location of the historic *Carib* sites may perhaps help to overcome this difficulty.

HISTORY

175 Columbus first made contact with the *Carib* during his second voyage, in 1493, when he purposely sailed farther south in order to investigate these fierce savages of whom he had heard in Hispaniola. His first landing place was a small uninhabited island near Dominica; from there he went to Guadeloupe and discovered a *Carib* village. The men being absent on a raid, he was able to receive on board six captive *Arawak* women from

---

[1] Lovén (1935, p. 545) believes that even this site is *Arawak*.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

115 Puerto Rico. He then proceeded to St. Croix, where *Carib* warriors savagely attacked the expedition before it departed for the *Arawak* island of Puerto Rico.

The Spaniards made no attempt to settle the Lesser Antilles. There was no gold there, and the agricultural potentialities did not compensate for the difficulty of subduing the *Carib*. The colonists did, however, make numerous slave raids against the islands taking advantage, after the prohibition of such raids elsewhere, of a provision permitting attacks on cannibals.

In 1623 the British and French settled St. Kitts, driving the *Carib* from that island with great cruelty. In rapid succession the British then colonized Nevis, St. Lucia, Barbados, Montserrat, and Antigua; the French settled Guadeloupe, Martinique, Désirade, Marie-Galante, St. Lucia, and Grenada; and the Dutch occupied Montserrat and Antigua. By the end of the century the *Carib* had been driven from all the important islands except Dominica and St. Vincent, and on those islands they were being buffeted between the British and French, each of whom obtained the aid of the savages in attacks on the other.

French missionaries made many attempts after 1650 to convert the *Carib* to Christianity, but with little success. The missionaries began to reside among the Indians, to study and speak their language. Fathers like Raymond Breton and Phillipe de Beaumont remained 25 years in Dominica, but the *Carib* gave only lip service to the Christian religion. About 1706 the missionaries abandoned St. Vincent entirely because of a plot of the *Carib* to kill all of them.

In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This *Carib*-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore and later to Ruatán Island near the coast of Honduras, where they now occupy the entire coastline from Stann Creek in British Honduras to Black River in the Republic of Honduras, and are known as the *Garif*, or *Black Carib*.

The *Carib* who remained in the West Indies also intermarried somewhat with the Negroes. They continued to reside in Dominica and St. Vincent until the end of the 19th century, when they were moved to a reservation in Dominica. At present there are some 500 survivors, less than a third of whom are full-blooded[9] (pl. 98).

SOURCES

114 Many of the writings of Columbus, his son, and the early explorers and historians who have been quoted above as sources for *Arawak* ethnology also contain some data on the *Carib*. The best material, however, comes

---

[9] The above account does not take into consideration the few *Carib* believed to have lived among the *Arawak* in Puerto Rico and Trinidad. Their history has already been given above in connection with the *Arawak*.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

from the missionaries and other observers who had contact with the Indians between 1650 and 1700, when the Lesser Antilles were first being settled. Bouton (1640), Breton (1877, 1892), Labat (1724, 1931), La Borde (1704, 1886), Du Puis (1652), and Dutertre (1667–71; copied in Rochefort, 1665, and Davies, 1666) are the principal primary sources. These have been compiled by Ballet (1875), Harris (1904), Sheldon (1820), Cornilliac (1875), Edwards (1818–19), Featherman (1881–91), Jefferys (1760), Joyce (1916), and Ober (1895), in the last six cases in conjunction with comparable compilations of *Arawak* ethnography. Delawarde (1938), Ober (1880), and D. Taylor (1935, 1936, 1938) have provided information concerning the modern descendants of the *Carib* in the West Indies, while Conzemius (1928) and Sapper (1897 b) have described the *Black Carib* of Central America. 114

Although the number of *Carib* sources and compilations is smaller than for the *Arawak*, each source, being more or less ethnographic in nature, contains relatively more information, and our knowledge of *Carib* culture is therefore comparable to that of *Arawak* culture. Many of the missionaries failed to distinguish between islands, and as a result the following account will deal with the *Carib* as a whole. The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700, when the *Carib* were concentrated on Dominica, Martinique, and St. Vincent. [101]

ETHNOGRAPHY

The *Carib* had a strong national consciousness. To distinguish themselves from the *Arawak* they used the term *Calinago* or *Calino*, which was corrupted by Columbus to *Caribales*, and later to *Carib*. From it comes our word "cannibal." The inhabitants of each island had a special name, which was formed by adding a suffix to the name of the island. Dominica, for example, was called Oüaitoucoubouli, and its inhabitants had the name *Oüaitoucoubouliri*. 186 101

Carib men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*. When speaking together both sexes used the men's language. The old men also had some words not found in the ordinary men's language. These were developed in the war councils. 198

No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered. By 1700, it is said that the number of those Indians had fallen to 4,000, half of them on Dominica and the rest on St. Vincent. 161

The *Carib* were more robust than the *Arawak*. They had well-developed, flexible bodies and broad buttocks and shoulders. Their height was medium, the skin olive-colored, and the hair and eyes black. When at ease they tended to be melancholy; when aroused they became truculent and vindictive. 142 157

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

226 [252] **Fishing.**—The staple food of the *Carib* was the crab, which they hunted at night by torchlight. They roasted the meat, seasoning it with a sauce called taumalin,[3] a mixture of lime juice and pounded peppers with the greenish meat next to the shell of the male crab.

Sea food was an important part of the diet. The *Carib* picked up shellfish along the shore. They caught fish with small nets (at night or when the water was calm); with hook and line (the hooks being of tortoise shell); by scattering a certain kind of poisonous wood on the water; or by use of the bow and arrow. The arrows were long and three-pronged; each was attached by a string to a wooden float so that it could easily be retrieved. Harpoons (with separate points) were employed to catch the manatee and sea turtle; the land turtle was stalked. Corrals are mentioned; they may have been fish wiers.

224 **Hunting.**—On land the *Carib* hunted the agouti and the lizard with dogs, smoking the lizards out of the holes into which the dogs drove them. They also caught birds, using the bow and arrows tipped with cotton or else stupefying the birds with smoke from a poisonous wood.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—Parrots and dogs were the only domesticated animals except when, in historic times, the people kept poultry and swine, largely for trade with the Europeans.

252 **Preparation of fish and meat.**—The *Carib* took special pains in the preparation of fish and meat, broiling them sometimes for a whole day over a slow fire on a wooden grid 2 feet (0.6 m.) high. They also roasted fish and agouti meat in the ash and smoked the latter for purposes of storage, cooking the smoked meat in cassava juice when they wished to eat it. For the seasoning of fish and meat they used a sauce called coüi, which was made by boiling the juice of the manioc with crushed peppers, lime juice, and manioc flour. They made a soup from left-over scraps of fish and meat, as well as from agouti bones. These were boiled in manioc juice with peppers, manioc flour, and oysters to form a strong mixture in which the Indians dipped cassava bread. Apparently this was as close as the *Carib* came to the typical *Arawak* pepper pot.

262 The same sources that describe the foregoing methods of hunting, fishing, and preparing meat also mention a taboo on the manatee, the turtle, and all land animals. The sources imply that this taboo was general, a fact difficult to reconcile with the above statements.[4] It is certain, however, that the *Carib* never took salt or ate the flesh of the eel and that they avoided fat.

241 **Farming and preparation of agricultural foods.**—The Indians cultivated both the bitter and the sweet varieties of manioc, using the same

---

[3] All *Carib* terms cited here are from the men's language.

[4] This discrepancy may represent a difference between ideal and practice or it may reflect a breaking down of the system of taboos. There is some indication that the taboos were followed only during a limited period, as after fasts. (See p. 557.)

methods of planting and of preparation as the *Arawak*. The kitchen [241]
utensils, however, were more varied. The *Carib* made their graters from 415
coral, from thorny branches, or by inserting wood or stone splinters in a
plank. They removed the juice in a cylindrical basketry strainer (pl. 94),
hung with a weight from a tree; sifted the flour in a basketry sieve; and
baked the cake on either a stone or a clay griddle with the aid of a wooden
spatula.

Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, 241
the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*. The sweetpotato 252
and the yam were particularly important; they were planted as cuttings
after a rain. When full grown the tubers were roasted or boiled and
eaten with a sauce like that made for meat. The roots and leaves were
used as a seasoning.

The *Carib* ate fruits of various kinds, including the banana (post-Con- 252
quest), the plantain, the guayba, the papaya, and the pineapple. Bananas
were cooked in sugared water; both they and the other fruits were also
pounded in a mortar to make a thick paste. Sugarcane, acquired from
the Spaniards, was boiled in water or was chewed fresh, and honey was
mixed with water to make a drink.

Eating.—Except for the morning meal taken soon after fixing their hair 264
and bodies, the *Carib* ate irregularly. Men sat on low stools in the carbet
(men's house) and were served by women on little tables (matoutou),
covered with leaves. Later the women ate by themselves in the kitchen.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Settlements.—*Carib* villages were located in the areas least favorable 361
for surprise attacks by the enemy, being usually on the windward side of
the island and in an open space upon a rise in the land. Each village was
near a stream, which provided drinking water and was used daily for
bathing. The villages were moved frequently, after a death, sickness, or
some other disagreeable incident. Each was small; it consisted of a
carbet (men's house), various smaller houses for the women, and several
storage platforms. These structures were arranged irregularly
around a small plaza where the people were accustomed to sit by the
light of a fire at night.

Houses.—The carbet (taboüi) was an oval building, which later became 342
rectangular, about 60 feet (18 m.) long and 20 feet (6 m.) wide. To construct
it the *Carib* set into the ground forked posts 10 feet (3 m.) high and
lashed across beams to the tops of these posts. They laid on poles, extending
from the ground at one end to the peak of the house at the other;
bound other poles horizontally over the first set; and thatched the whole
down to the ground with palm leaves. The floor was of dirt and had a
hearth in the center. There were no partitions; the only openings were a
door no more than 4 feet (1.2 m.) high in the middle of each side and end.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

342 Men slept in this structure; they and the boys ate, worked, and passed the time of day there. Women, however, entered only to serve the men.

Women's houses were each about half the size of the carbet. Their construction was the same, except that each had only a single doorway and was provided with a reed partition separating the room where the women and children slept from the kitchen.

The storage platforms were built on piles and roofed, but open on the sides.

352 **Household furniture.**—Mats were used to cover the doorways of the houses. Within, hammocks were the chief articles of furniture (pl. 93). Made of a network of cotton thread, they were 6 feet (1.8 m.) long and 12 feet (3.6 m.) wide. The ends were tied by cords to two posts in the wall of the dwelling; often the cords extended along the sides of the hammock as decoration. Some hammocks were painted red or black. They had a small packet of ash at each end, which was believed to make them last longer. Small wooden tables and stools were used in many houses; some had cabinets in which to store weapons and utensils. The rafters also were a favorite storage place.

[484] When on canoe trips the *Carib* made temporary shelters by erecting posts, to which they attached hammocks, covering them with a roof of palm leaves.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing, hairdress, and toilet.**—Like the *Arawak*, the *Carib* had no clothing except for a small cotton apron worn by women over their genitals (pl. 93). In historic times this was ornamented with beads. Every 302 morning men washed themselves and sat in the carbet while the women combed their hair, anointing it with oil, and painted their bodies red. The women then dressed themselves in the same manner. The paint, urucú (roucou), was made by mixing oil with boiled and ground seeds from the bixa plant. It was brushed over the whole body, partially for decoration and partially as a protection against insects. On ceremonial occasions men also used black paint made from genipa; they had their wives paint it in streaks over their faces and bodies, using tiny hair brushes.

[552] Rich black hair was considered a sign of beauty. Both men and women wore it long, cutting only the part above the eyes. They let it hang free or sometimes bunched part of it on the back of the head, tying it with a cotton cord and decorating it with tail feathers of the macaw (arara). Only slaves had their hair cut short in the *Arawak* manner. Men plucked their beards, which they considered a deformity.

304 **Deformation and scarification.**—A mother flattened both the forehead and the back of her child's head. The *Carib* pierced the ears, nasal septa, and lower lip for the insertion of fishbones, feathers, stone pendants, or pieces of wood, stone, or shell. They used the latter only temporarily,

when not wearing the caracoli described below. During ceremonies men 304
scarified their bodies, later staining the scars black. Native-born women were distinguished from captives by wearing anklets made of basketry interwoven with cotton. The anklets were assumed at puberty, and as the wearers grew they became tighter and caused the ankles to swell.

Ornaments.—Both sexes wore bracelets made of cotton or of beads 301
of stone, crystal, bone, seed, coral, shell, or a pearllike substance obtained in shells. Men placed these bracelets around their upper arms and women around the wrists. Both men and women often wore necklaces and girdles of the same materials; it was from the girdles that women hung their aprons. Men sometimes inserted teeth and bones from the enemies they had killed into their necklaces and bracelets. On their chests both [778]
sexes hung small amulets of wood or stone carved to represent their maboya (evil spirits) and designed to frighten away other malevolent powers. Small gourd fetishes, containing bird claws and bits of jaguar skin obtained on the mainland, were also used as pendants.

The most prized possession of the men was the caracoli, a crescent-shaped alloy of gold and copper framed in wood, which the warriors obtained during raids upon the continental *Arawak* (pl. 93). Some of these caracoli were small and served as ear, nose, or mouth pendants; others were large enough to be worn on the chest. They were a sign of [534]
high rank, being passed down from generation to generation, and were worn only upon ceremonial occasions and during journeys. Certain stone necklaces, the material for which was obtained on the mainland, were also [755]
prized. They were said to have had healing virtue and were worn only during feasts. Upon ceremonial occasions men decorated their hair with feather caps and crowns and their backs with jaguar skins; some rubbed their bodies with gum and sprinkled feathers upon them.

TRANSPORTATION

The *Carib* were expert in the management of boats, of which they had 501
four types: pirogues, large canoes, small canoes, and rafts. Both the pirogues and the canoes were dugouts, but the sides of the former were built up with planks, sewn together and pitched with bitumen. The average length of the pirogue was 40 feet (12 m.); some were large enough to carry 50 persons. Each one had a keel, a raised and pointed bow, a series of plank seats, and a flat-pooped stern carved with an animal's head (maboya) to frighten the enemy and often decorated with a barbecued human arm. The larger variety of canoe was 20 feet (6 m.) long. It, too, had a series of seats and also thwarts against which the paddlers leaned their backs. Both the stem and the stern were high and pointed; there were holes in the gunwales to which the travelers could attach their belongings. The smaller type of canoe was just large enough for one

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

501 person; it had a flat stern and served mainly for fishing. The rafts consisted of a series of logs, lashed to two transverse bars.

The pirogues and canoes seem to have been better finished than the *Arawak* canoes. Their sides were smoothed, polished, and often painted to represent Indians or maboya spirits. In historic times (and perhaps earlier) the pirogues had three masts and the canoes two, each supporting a sail made from cotton or from palm-leaf matting.[5] The paddles were spade-shaped, like those of the *Arawak;* that of the steersman was one-third longer than the rest (pl. 94).

484 [726] When on a raiding expedition *Carib* men traveled alone, taking only several women to prepare their food and to paint them with urucú. Otherwise men, women, and children traveled together. They carried their hammocks and kitchen utensils and landed at night to build temporary sleeping shelters.

484 789 The *Carib* were quite superstitious about traveling from island to island. While at sea they ate no crabs or lizards and drank no water, for fear of not being able to reach land. They were careful, too, not to spill fresh water into the sea, for they believed that this would cause storms and a swelling of the water. When passing a place where *Carib* had previously been drowned they threw overboard food so as to prevent the dead people, now living at the bottom of the sea, from causing them to capsize. Upon the appearance of a storm cloud they all blew into the air and waved their hands to drive the cloud away. When it did become stormy they chewed manioc bread and spit it into the sea and air to appease the spirits (omicou) who were causing the storm. If the wind were unfavorable, an old man would shoot an arrow at the prow of the canoe in order to make the canoe go straight as an arrow. The *Carib* never named or pointed at the land which they were approaching, for fear that they might not be able to get ashore.

[482] [854] The people traveled by foot when on land, felling a log or using small canoes to cross streams. Burdens were carried in baskets on the back; babies were suspended in little hammocks strung around the mother's neck.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry and weaving.**—Next to canoes the outstanding *Carib* artifacts were baskets (pl. 94). The men made these from *Latania* leaves, which they split, scraped with mussel shells, and plaited together. Often the baskets had double walls, separated by a lining of leaves which made them watertight. Some, made large and pyramidal, were used on the back as carrying baskets. Others, which were small, rectangular, and provided with covers, served for jewel boxes. They were supplied with a cord to be attached to the gunwales of the canoes, so that the basket would not be lost

---

[5] Some sources say the pirogues had topsails as well as the usual square mainsails.

if the vessel overturned. Large rectangular baskets, turned upside down 285
and provided with wooden legs 4 to 5 inches (10 cm.) tall, served as
tables (matoutou). The basketry technique was used also in the manufacture of strainers, sieves, and mats, the functions of which have been
described above. In historic times the natives had brooms.

The weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of *Carib* 286
culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used
belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick
on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove
in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword-shaped stick. The
cloth was dyed with various colors, particularly red, and was sewn with
a needle made from a palmetto spine.

Pottery and gourds.—The *Carib* baked pots and griddles of clay; the 415
former were indispensable for making beer. They had numerous gourd [323]
containers, made by removing the pulp with hot water and pebbles. These
included bottles for urucú, covered bowls (coyembouc) for carrying
trinkets, platters, cups, dippers, and spoons. Often they were engraved
or painted. Coconut shells were treated in the same manner.

Woodworking.—The men not only carved canoes of wood but also 322
they made bowls, which were used primarily for drinking bouts, and stools,
which either were solid or were provided with four legs.

Fire making.—The people made fire by rubbing one mahot stick 372
against another.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Except in wartimes, each *Carib* village seems to have been an indepen- 621
dent organization. It consisted of an extended family which had split
away from some other village and was headed by its founder. This man, 622
called a carbet chief or tiubutuli-hauthe, had charge of the carbet and of
the entertainment which took place therein. He probably also supervised
fishing and the cultivation of the land, which seems to have been communal. Although he was treated with deference, he had little authority.
The *Carib* men were individualists, and they looked down upon the [167]
Europeans for taking orders.

Each island also had one or two war chiefs, called ubutu, who were 624
elected to hold office for life. Except that ownership of a caracoli seems
to have been one of the requirements for this chieftainship, no heredity
was involved in the office. However, a son might succeed his father if
he could prove himself worthy. He had to be an experienced warrior
with a good record, excel in swimming and diving, show that he could
carry a greater burden than his followers, and bear burning and slashing
of his flesh without flinching.

The war chief was particularly honored. He was provided with an
assistant, and wherever he went he was surrounded by a retinue. His

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

624 were the first fruits of any feast. It was his duty to conduct the war council in one of the carbets; he also had charge of some of the entertainment there.

Two or more war chiefs usually participated in each raid, one of them being chosen head chief, but only for the period of the raid. The head chief sometimes assumed command of the fleet of canoes going on the raid, or he might delegate such command to a younger warrior. The owner of each canoe was leader of the men in his craft; he was called a boat chief and bailed instead of paddling.

554 It will be apparent that rank was not so well defined among the *Carib* as among the *Arawak*. [611] Descent does not seem to have been important either; no mention of it has been found in the sources.[8] Men were prominent because of their military prowess, because of caracoli obtained from their ancestors, or because they were old and full of knowledge. There was a slave class composed of captive women, but their children were free.

681 It is said that during historic times murders were a common occurrence at the drinking bouts. They were avenged by the relatives of the dead person. In case of theft the aggrieved person slashed the shoulder of the thief with an agouti tooth, to mark the crime. The husband punished adultery by beating his wife to death with a club.

574 **Etiquette.**—Each carbet appointed a man to act as host. He provided the visitor with tobacco and a seat. Then the other men of the carbet, dressed in their best, introduced themselves and conversed with the visitor. There might be a banquet, at which everyone drank much. Special hammocks were always provided for visitors, and a woman was assigned to paint them and dress their hair in the morning. To show great friendship, the hosts exchanged names with their guests; in case of intimacy they exchanged presents.

If the cassava provided to a guest were folded, he could have only what he ate. If it were unfolded, however, he could take with him the remnants. The people usually ate in silence and without drinking. Only one man ordinarily spoke at a time; the other men hummed if they approved.

421 **Economic organization.**—Little is known of *Carib* economics. The [illegible] people used rolls of tobacco as a monetary standard and obtained beads of crystal or greenstone from South America. Land and food products seem to have been held by the village in common. On the other hand, canoes and ornaments were personal property. It is not known how they were inherited.

---

[8] It has not been possible to substantiate the statement by Gower (1927, p. 22) that descent was matrilineal.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy. 844 The birth often took place by a fire. If it caused trouble, the woman drank juice made from a certain root. Afterward she washed the child in a stream and placed it in a tiny hammock or on a couch of leaves. If the birth had taken place at night, the men of the house bathed themselves so that the child would not catch cold.

For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava 846 and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he complained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock. He remained there for at least 40 days after the birth of his first child, and for 4 or 5 days after the birth of other children. During this time he went out only at night and avoided meeting anyone for fear that they might tempt him to break his fast, thereby making the mother sick and the child cowardly. At first he took no food. After 5 days he was permitted to drink corn beer and after 10 days to eat manioc bread in increasing quantities. He ate only the insides of the bread, the crusts being hung up in the hut until the end of the 40-day period, when they served as the basis for a feast in the village carbet. Preceding the feast the father was brought into the carbet, was stood on two large flat cakes of cassava, and was scarified by two men chosen by the carbet chief. A mixture of urucú, pepper seeds, and tobacco juice was rubbed into the cuts, and the blood which fell from them was daubed on the face of the child so that he would have the courage shown by the father in undergoing scarification. The man was then fed the two cassava cakes upon which he had stood and also fish, which he had to spit out. He went back to bed for several days and had to abstain from the flesh of animals for a period of 6 months or a year, lest the child become deformed.[7]

The child received its first name 12 or 15 days after birth from a friend 551
of the father who acted as godfather or godmother. The name was taken 553
from that of an ancestor, from nature, or from something that had happened during birth, pregnancy, or the couvade. If the baby were strong [304]
enough to bear it, his ears, nose, and lips were pierced at the same time, but this might be deferred until 2 years had passed, when the child's hair was cut.

At first all children ate with the mother; when 4 or 5 years old the boys [853]
began to eat in the men's house. The fathers spent much time in training 868
their sons in hunting, fishing, swimming, singing, basketry, making canoes, and particularly in shooting the bow and arrow, at which they had

---

[7] The accounts of the couvade vary considerably from source to source. The above version is taken largely from Breton (1665, pp. 236-239), with supplemental data from La Borde (1886, pp. 240-250).

868 to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arawak* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

[754] Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

582 The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes, [584] contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful 584 warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain [585] the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her 591 husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island. 562 The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands, cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens. [586] Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were [551] divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

883 **Death and burial.**—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm. 900 They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

When a man
died all the relatives examined his body to satisfy themselves that he 764 [763 754]
had not been killed by sorcery. The body was washed, painted, oiled as in life, flexed, and wrapped in a new hammock. It was placed upon a stool in a grave dug in the carbet, near the wall in the case of an ordinary person but in the center if the man were prominent, its eyes were weighted shut, and mats were added to protect it from the soil. The grave was not filled for 10 days, during which the relatives brought food and water to the corpse twice a day and lamented over it. A fire was built around the grave to purify it and to prevent the deceased from catching cold. The deceased's possessions were either cast into this fire or were placed in the grave; sometimes the house was burned too. In prehistoric times a slave or a dog was killed and put in the grave to care for the dead person. If the deceased were a warrior, the chief delivered a funeral oration, extolling his exploits. There was also a feast over the grave, accompanied by dancing. The close relatives fasted and cut their hair in mourning; some time afterward they held a second feast over the grave. In the case of a chief the *Carib* sometimes burned the corpse and mixed its ashes into a drink.

WARFARE

The *Carib* posted sentinels near all harbors to watch for the approach 721 of raiding parties. They held assemblies to decide upon war and to fix a rendezvous; at these meetings the old women harangued them on the cruelty of the enemy, the war chief exhorted them to revenge themselves, they became very drunk, and at the height of the festival they ate some enemy flesh, smoked and preserved from the last raid. Each warrior present was given a gourd full of pebbles, a string with knots, [211] or a stick with notches, to tell how many days before he had to be at the rendezvous. He spent the time repairing his pirogue and his weapons, while his wives prepared food for the raid.

The principal *Carib* weapon was the bow and arrow, the former 6 411 feet (1.8 m.) long, the latter poisoned, occasionally feathered, and provided with a separate barbed point. The poison came from the sap of the manchineel tree; the points were of fishbone, tortoise shell, or fire-hardened wood. There were also javelins and clubs (boutou), the latter engraved and painted with geometric and anthropomorphic designs. These clubs, which varied in length according to the rank of the owner, were used after the supply of arrows had been exhausted (pl. 93).

The *Carib* attempted to catch the enemy asleep in their villages. They 726 attacked at dawn, or at night when there was a full moon. Divided into three bands, they fell upon the village, uttering war cries and shooting fire arrows (having cotton heads).

If the enemy resisted successfully, the *Carib* retired at noon, taking with them their dead and wounded. They might re-form for another

726 attack, but usually they returned home, carrying the corpses to be buried there. If the enemy were defeated, they pillaged the village and roasted 727 and ate the enemy corpses on the spot, keeping only some of the bones as trophies. They bound all prisoners and carried them back to the home village.

Each warrior kept his female captives and her children as slaves, incorporating them in his family. The male captives were tortured, killed, and eaten at the feast celebrating each victory. For 5 days beforehand each prisoner was kept without food in the house of his captor, bound onto one of his hammocks. Then he was brought into the carbet, where the villagers had assembled. They thrust burning brands into his sides, cut his flesh and rubbed in pepper, and shot his body full of arrows, trying (usually without success) to make him cringe. Then one of the old men of the village dispatched him with a club. The *Carib* cut up his body, washed the flesh, and roasted it, catching the fat in gourd containers. This fat was kept by the chiefs, who used it to season the food during later feasts. Some of the flesh also was kept until later, but most was eaten then with many signs of enjoyment. The most courageous warriors received the heart, the women the arms and legs, and the other men the rest of the body.

At this time the chief recounted the exploits of the warriors, and they took the names of the enemies they had killed. A sponsor was chosen to present the new name, and he received gifts of ornaments in return. At this time, too, the fathers gave their daughters to the successful warriors to be their brides.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

532 **Art.**—The sculpture of the *Carib* was not so well developed as that of the *Arawak*, but they did fashion images of their maboya (evil spirits) from stone and wood for use as amulets and as adornments to the sterns of pirogues. They also carved small dolls of wood for the children and engraved biomorphic and geometric designs on clubs and gourds. There are petroglyphs in *Carib* territory, but they were probably made by the *Arawak*. Painting was done on canoes, hammocks, and gourds; as in the case of engraving, the designs were either biomorphic or geometric.

526 **Games.**—The *Carib* were fond of wrestling and of boat races. When wrestling, the two contestants held each other by the upper arms while each attempted to throw his opponent to the ground.

527 **Feasts, dances, and music.**—Carib feasts were held frequently: To decide upon warfare; to celebrate victories, the birth of the first male child, or cutting the children's hair; to initiate a new warrior; to observe clearing of new fields, cutting down trees to make a new house, launching a new vessel, or recovery from a disease. They were organized by one

of the chiefs, who gave notice several days in advance so that food and 527
drink could be prepared. The feast took place in the carbet, but both men and women, dressed in their best, participated. They spent all day and most of the night in eating, drinking, singing, and dancing, usually becoming quite drunk.

Both men and women participated in the singing, not only at the 533
feasts but also to pass the time of day. Most songs had to do with warfare; others dealt with birds, fish, and women.

Dancing seems to have been confined to the feasts (pl. 95). Men and 535
women performed alone or together. They moved in a circle, dancing in pairs, arm in arm. The men performed violently, but the women moved only their feet. The dances were accompanied by songs, the drum, the
rattle, a stringed instrument, and the flute. The drum, hollowed from a log, 534
had a single head of skin. The rattle consisted of a gourd with a wooden handle. The stringed instrument, too, was of gourd; it had a single string. The flutes were made of bamboo or the bones of an enemy.[8]

Carib men played flutes in the morning, while their wives prepared breakfast. They used conch-shell trumpets for signaling while on raids or when hunting or fishing; at night they also had recourse to signal flares.

Intoxicants and narcotics.—They were fond of drinking and made 273
several different kinds of beer (oüicou) from sweetpotatoes or from a mixture of sweetpotatoes and manioc. The women chewed this material, allowed it to ferment for several days, and then strained it. They also brewed beer from the coarser manioc bread which they laid aside until it became mouldy.

The *Carib* smoked tobacco, rolling it into cigars like those of the 276
Arawak.[9] There is no mention of snuff, but tobacco chewing was common. The *Carib* dried the leaves over the fire, softened them with sea water, and kneaded them into rolls which served as money. Before chewing they added ashes and packed the quid between the lip and gum.

RELIGION AND SHAMANISM

The *Carib* believed in a plurality of souls, which they associated with 775
the beating of the heart and arteries. The soul in the heart was supposed [773]
to go to an earthlike paradise in heaven, where it became part of a company of good spirits, or akamboue.[10] The souls in the rest of the body either stayed in the bones after death or went into the forests or seashores. They were regarded as evil spirits, maboya; those in the sea had a special name, omicou.

---

[8] Neither the drum nor the stringed instrument is mentioned in all the sources. They may have been historic developments.

[9] Labat (1931, p. 88) observed men smoking for pleasure. Davies (1666, p. 346), however, describes only the use of tobacco by shamans during curing ceremonies.

[10] Some believed that the paradise was on earth rather than in the heavens and that only the successful warriors went there, the rest of the people being freed to live after death in another and more barren land.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

775 The good spirits (akamboue) were believed to be invisible, except at night when they took the form of bats. Each *Carib* had one of them as his personal deity (ichieri). From time to time, particularly during feasts, he set an offering for his deity upon a table at the end of his hut; it consisted of manioc bread and the first of his fruits; its purpose was to insure good crops and to safeguard health. There were no idols on the table, as among the *Arawak,* and no ceremony of worship. When a man died it was believed that his ichieri carried the soul of his heart to heaven.

To the evil spirits (maboya) were attributed all disagreeable and frightening occurrences, such as nightmares, sickness, shipwrecks, thunder, hurricanes, earthquakes, and eclipses of the moon (the occasion for an all-night dance). The maboya were invisible, but a bad odor sometimes revealed their presence. Each *Carib* wore a small carved image of a maboya around his neck to frighten off the other maboya.

756 It was the function of the shamans (boyez) to control the maboya. Each shaman had one of them as his own personal deity which he obtained at the ceremony closing his period of apprenticeship to one of the older shamans. After a fast of 5 months, the youth was brought into the carbet, before a table on which manioc bread, fruit, and oüicou had been placed. The older shaman sang a song to call his own maboya to the carbet and then blew out cigar smoke, tickling the spirit in the nose and further enticing him into the carbet. Immediately the maboya fell into the hut and was seated upon a hammock to receive the food offering. His shaman then asked him for a spirit for the apprentice. This second maboya appeared and harangued the gathering on the power which the new shaman was to have.[11]

Comparable ceremonies took place at frequent intervals to drive away other maboya who had caused evil, to bring revenge upon an enemy, to influence the course of warfare, to prophecy future events, or to cause diseases. These ceremonies were always held at night and in the dark, since the spirits abhorred light. The food offerings, and sometimes also blood, were contributed by the spectators, who sat on stools at the opposite end of the hut, but the shamans appropriated them for their own use after the ceremonies. The maboya appeared in various shapes; often it entered the body of an old woman to give an oracular answer. Sometimes it could be heard eating the food offering, or quarreling with another spirit whom it had accused of causing some evil.

Some shamans kept in their houses the hair or bones of their ancestors, which were supposed to contain maboya. The shamans put them into gourds or wrapped them in cotton; sometimes they made small cotton

---

[11] The above account is taken largely from Dutertre (1667–71, vol. 2, pp. 365–366). La Borde (1886, pp. 235–236) states on the contrary, that the apprentice went to the maboya. His body was coated with gum and with feathers so that he could fly, and he was made to take tobacco juice to induce unconsciousness.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

figures through which the maboya gave oracular answers. There were, 756 however, no household idols or priests, as among the *Arawak*.

754 The *Carib* often attributed sickness to the influence of sorcerers who had obtained control of maboya. They consulted a shaman to determine the identity of the sorcerer and were usually directed to a woman, from whom no reprisal was to be feared. The woman was made to pick up a shell or a fishbone and to confess that she had administered this in food to cause the disease. She was then tortured and killed.

755 The shaman was also brought in to effect cures. He worked in the same way as at other séances, setting up a table bearing food offerings and oüicou at one end of the hut and calling his maboya with songs and tobacco smoke. The shaman first asked his maboya whether the disease would be fatal. If so, he abandoned the ceremony and told the patient to prepare for death. If not, the shaman and his maboya approached the patient, touched the part of his body which pained him, sometimes sucking it, and drew out an object—an imaginary poison, thorns, pieces of bone, or splinters of wood and stone. These were supposed to have caused the disease. Then the shaman rubbed the sick person's body with the juice of the *Ginipa* fruit, producing a dark brown color. When the patient had recovered, he gave a feast for the shaman, at the same time providing food [165] offerings for the latter's maboya.

785 The *Carib* fasted upon a number of occasions: At puberty; when becoming a chief, a father, or a warrior; after killing an enemy; and at the death of a close relative. A man might also be asked to fast when a relative was sick, in the hope that it might relieve the pain. A typical schedule of fasting has already been described above (p. 557) in connection with the birth of the first child. The people did not vomit for religious purposes, but only to rid their stomachs of an excess of food.

757 Women knew of certain herbs, fruits, roots, oils, and gums which they used to cure diseases. For indigestion they prepared an infusion from [278] the bark of the chipou tree and from the *Lambys* shell; they had another drink made by pounding up the bark of certain trees and vines when the sap was thick. If the indigestion had been caused by eating crabs, they ate as an antidote the flesh of the manatee or tortoise, which caused the body to break out into pimples. Then they treated the latter with the juice of the junipa nut or with sap from the leaves of the balisier tree mixed with the ashes of burned seeds. The former was also used to heal wounds. The wives sucked the poison out of snake bites, applied an infusion to the wound, and also prepared a drink as an antidote. They had another antidote for arrow poisoning. Bathing was used to treat some wounds, sweat baths for others. Sometimes they scarified the body to draw off blood.

MYTHOLOGY

776
821 Upon questioning by the missionaries, the *Carib* stated their belief in an unnamed superior power who lived in heaven and was endowed with all goodness. They regarded the earth as an indulgent mother, who furnished them with the things necessary for life.

The sun, moon, and other heavenly bodies were supposed to be human. The sun (noun) was considered a male; as ruler of the stars he prevented their shining during the daytime. He also warmed the stars, and they were believed to become ill during eclipses of the sun when the warming was not possible. The moon (houiou) was female; at first she shone during the daytime, but the coming of the sun filled her with shame and thereafter she appeared only at night. A star named Achinoin was said to be the cause of light rain and strong winds; another star, called Couroumon, controlled the tides and caused the heavy waves which upset canoes. To a *Carib*, Savacou, who became a bird and later a star, was attributed control over the thunder and strong winds. Other stars, the rainbow, and a comet were given similar mythological backgrounds. The first waters in the world were said to be the perspiration and urine of these spirits; the waters became fresh only when the salinity was strained out of them by the ground. Later the stars caused a great flood because the *Carib* failed to worship them.

776 The *Carib* believed that their ancestors had emerged from the navel (or the nostrils and an incision in the thigh) of a man named Louquo, who had descended from heaven, bringing manioc roots and showing the people how to cultivate them and to prepare food. He also explained how to build houses, and according to one version he was the creator of the earth and of fish, which he made out of fragments of manioc bread. Three days after his death Louquo was said to have returned to the sky.

LORE AND LEARNING

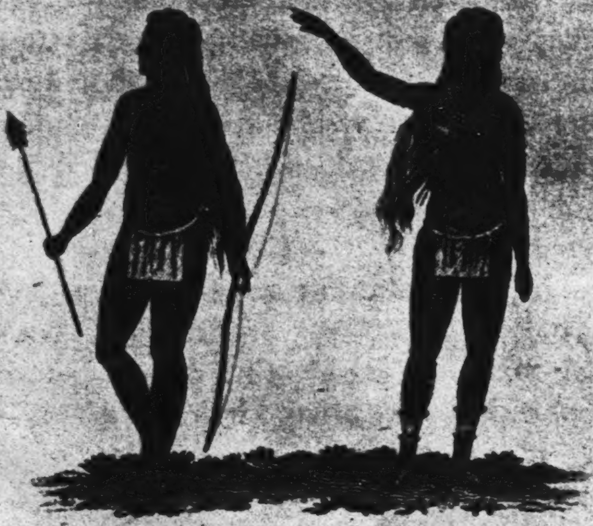
[822 The *Carib* recognized only four colors—white, black, yellow, and red.
802 They counted up to 20 on their fingers and toes. As already described,
805 they had several methods of recording the time until a rendezvous. Their
chiefs, shamans, and old men kept track of the time, counting the months
by the moons, the seasons by the passing of the sun over the zenith, and
the years by the rise and fall of the Pleiades. They also predicted the
[821 coming of winds and rains by the ascension of certain constellations which,
as described above, were believed to control the weather.

173 The people stated that they originally came from the mainland to conquer the *Arawak* whom they found living in the Lesser Antilles. They were fond of recounting deeds of bravery in warfare but otherwise do not seem to have had any interest in their past history.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

Carraib Man & Woman.

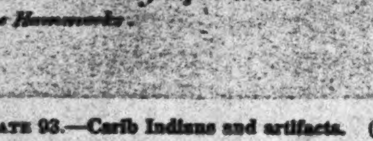
291
301
411



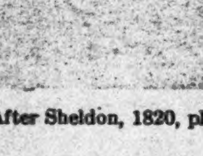
41
531

Carraib Mace or Club.

342
301



Carraib Carbet left open to shew the Hammocks.



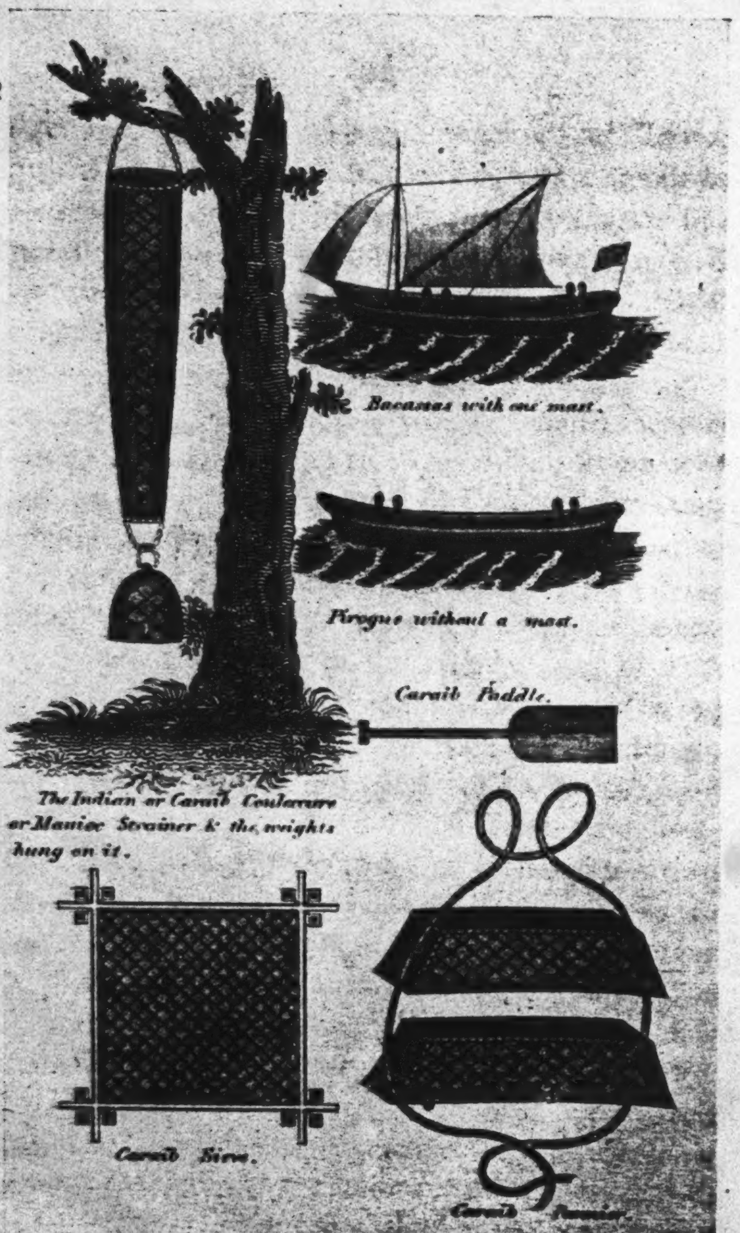
The Caracoli.

Plate 93.—Carib Indians and artifacts. (After Sheldon, 1820, pl. 13.)

[p. 564 A]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

415
501
252

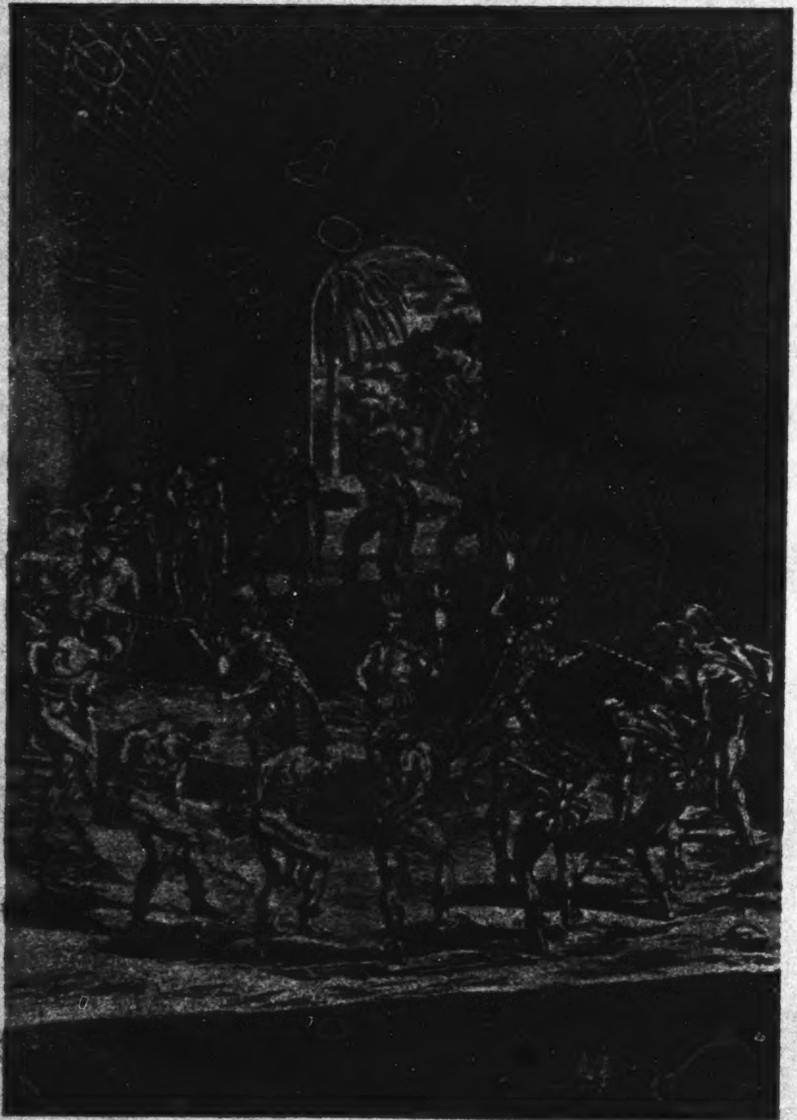

Bacassas with one mast.
Pirogue without a mast.
Carib Paddle.
The Indian or Carib Couleuvre or Maniac Strainer & the weights hung on it.
Carib Sieve.
Carib Pannier.

145

PLATE 64.—Carib manufactures. (After Sheldon, 1820, pl. 14.)

[p. 564 B]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)



535
344

PLATE 95.—Carib war dance. (After Picard. Reproduced from Fewkes, 1907, pl. 9.)

[p. 564C]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago
(1650-1700) Sub-Taino SX 5

291
142

291
143
342

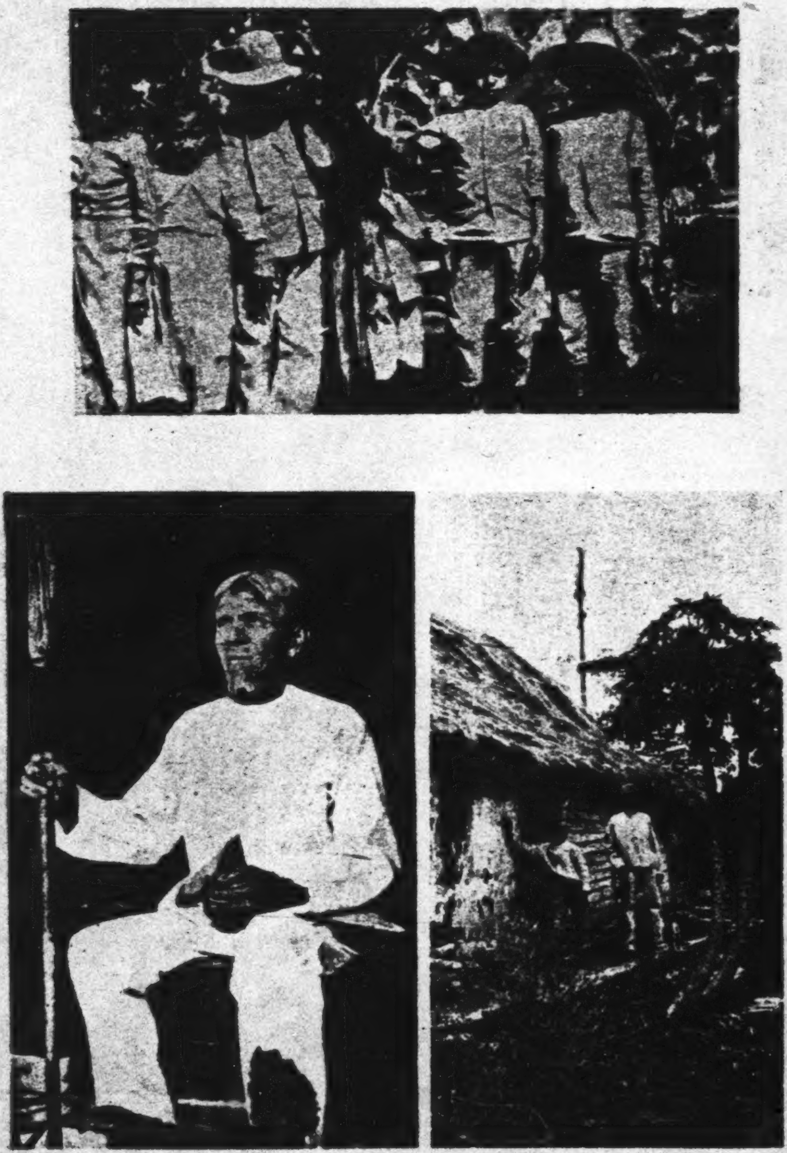
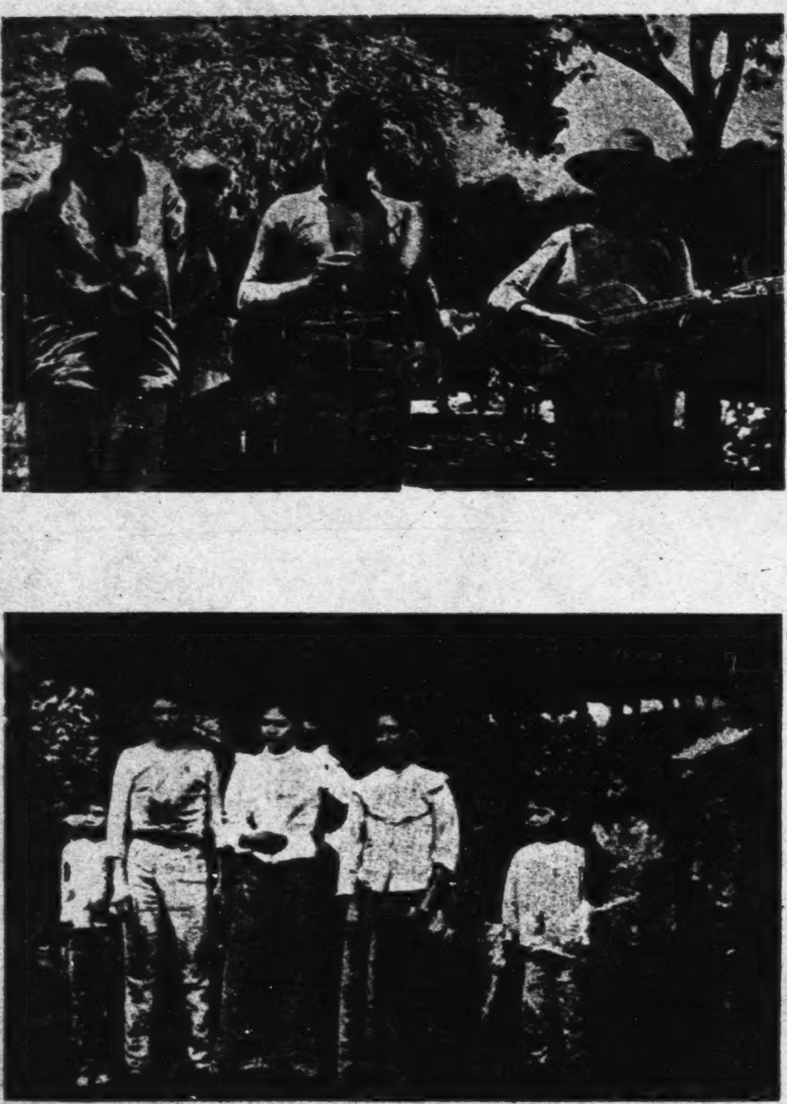


Plate 96.—Cuban descendants of the Arawak. *Top:* Yara. *Bottom:* El Caney. (After Culin, 1902, pls. 62, 53, 54.)

[p. 564 D]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago
(1650-1700) Sub-Taino 5X5



291
142
534

291
142

PLATE 97.—Cuban descendants of the Arawak. *Top:* Playing guayo and guitar. Negro guide at left. At Yateras. *Bottom:* Spanish-Indians at Yara. (After Culin, 1902, pls. 55, 59.)

[p.564E]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

342
285
291

342

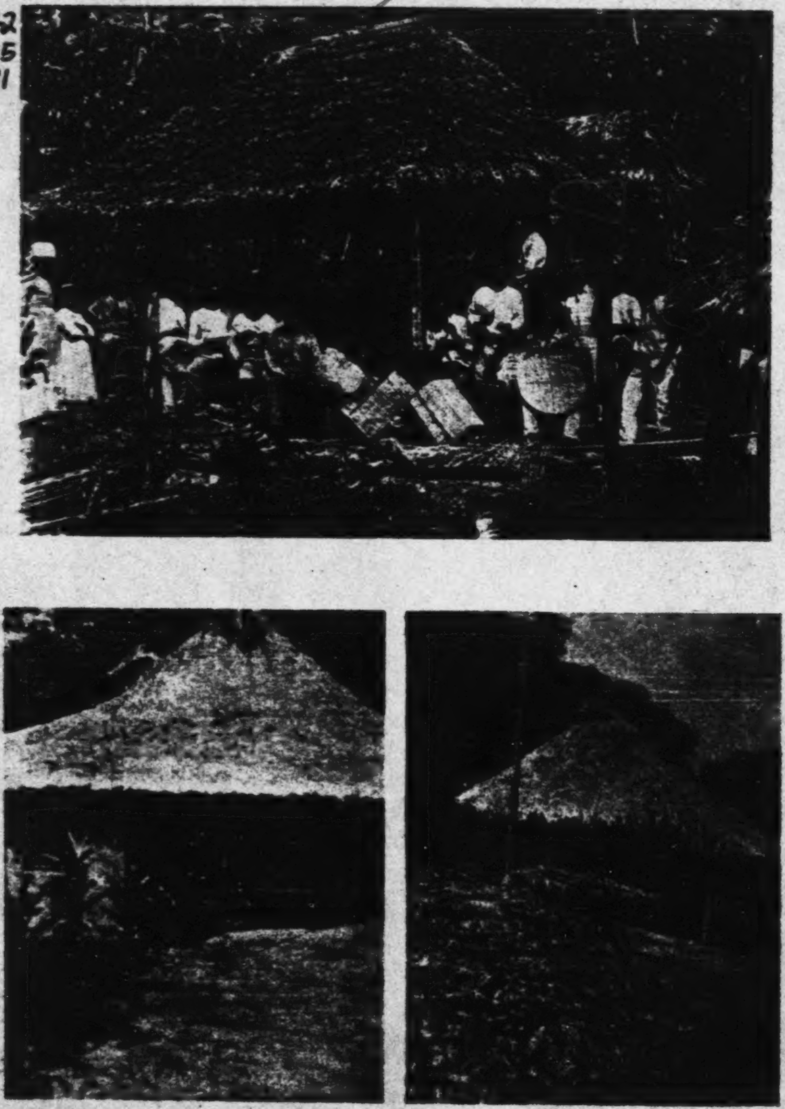


Plate 98.—Carib descendants. *Top: Carib* house and basketmakers, St. Vincent. *Bottom: Carib* houses, Arima, Trinidad. (After Fewkes, 1907, pls. 8, 7.)

[p.564F]

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbad y Lasierra, 1866; Anghiera, 1912 (1511); Arber, 1885; Bachiller y Morales, 113 1883; Ballet, 1875; Barlow, 1932; Bastien, 1944; Benzoni, 1857; Bernáldez, 1870 (1878); Beuchat, 1912; Booy, 1912, 1913 a, 1913 b; Bourne, 1907; Bouton, 1640; Brau, 1907; Breton, 1877, 1892; Brinton, 1871; Bullbrook, 1920, 1940, 1941; Cabot, J. (See C. Columbus, 1893); Cabot, S. (see Arber, 1885); Cárdenas (see Torres de Mendoza, 1864–84); Casas, n.d. (1875), 1909; Castellanos, 1874; Charlevoix, 1730–31; Churchill (see F. Colón, 1811); Coll y Toste, 1907; Columbus (Colombo), C., 1893, 1930, 1930–33; Colón (Columbus), F., 1811; Coma (see Scillacio, 1859), Conzemius, 1928; Cornilliac, 1875; Corte Real (see C. Columbus, 1893); Coscullucela, 1918, 1922; Culin, 1902; Cundall, 1894; Davies, 1666; Delawarde, 1938; Dudley, 1899; Dutertre, 1654 (1667–71); Eaden (see Labat, 1931); Eden (see Arber, 1885); Edwards, 1818–19; Enciso, 1519; Escalante Fontaneda, 1837–41; Featherman, 1881–91; Fernández Duro, and others, 1885–1932; Fewkes, 1907, 1922; Fort y Roldán, 1881; Gabb, 1881; Gage, 1928; García Valdés, 1930, 1936–37; Girard de Rialle, 1881; Gómara, 1749 (1552–53, 1852, 1901); Gower, 1927; Guiteras, 1865–66; Harlow, 1925; Harrington, 1921; Harris, 1904; Hatt, 1924; Heriot, 1807; Herrera Fritot, 1936, 1939; Herrera y Tordesillas, 1725–26 (1730); Hollis, 1941; Holmes, 1894; Hostos, 1941; Howard, 1943; Irving, 1851; Jane (see C. Columbus, 1930, 1930–33); Jefferys, 1760; Joyce, 1916; Kendall (see Dudley, 1899); Kerr (see F. Colón, 1811); Kidder II, 1944; Krieger, 1929, 1930, 1931; Labat, 1724 (1722, 1742), 1931; La Borde, 1704, 1886; Lovén, 1935; MacNutt (see Anghiera, 1912); Martyr (see Anghiera); Mason, J. A., 1941; Morales Cabrera, 1932; Morales Coello (see Royo Guardia et al., 1942); Morales Patiño (see Ortiz, Coscullucela, et al., 1943); Moralis (see Anghiera, 1912); Mulligan (see Scillacio, 1859); Muñoz, 1797; Münster (see Arber, 1885); Nau, 1894; Navarrete, 1825–37; Newton (see Gage, 1928); Ober, 1880, 1895; Ortiz Fernández, 1935, 1943; Ortiz, Coscullucela, Herrera Fritot, and Morales Patiño, 1943; Osgood, 1942 a, 1942 b; Osgood and Howard, 1943; Oviedo y Valdés, 1749, 1851–55 (1535), 1906; Pacheco (see Torres de Mendoza, 1864–84); Pané (see Bachiller y Morales, 1883; Bourne, 1907); Pericot García, 1936; Pichardo Moya, 1944; Puis, 1652; Rafinesque, 1836; Rainey, 1940, 1941; Raleigh, 1848; Real (see Corte Real); Ries, 1936; Rivet, 1923; Rochefort, 1665 (1658); Roth, 1887; Roumain, 1942, 1943; Rouse, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1945, 1947; Royo Guardia, 1940 a, 1940 b, Royo Guardia, Morales Coello, and Herrera Fritot, 1942; Safford, 1916, 1917; Salas, 1921; Santovenia y Echaide, 1939; Sapper, 1897 b; Schomburgk (see Raleigh, 1848); Scillacio, 1859; Serrano y Sanz (see Casas, 1909); Sheldon, 1820; Simón, 1882–92; Sloane, 1707–25; Smyth (see Benzoni, 1857); Sparrey, 1906; Spencer, 1873–79, vol. 6; Stahl, 1889; Stirling, 1936; Tamara, 1556; Tapia y Rivera, 1854; Taylor, D., 1935, 1936, 1938; Taylor, E.G.R. (see Barlow, 1932); Torre, 1890; Torre y de la Torre, 1841; Torres de Mendoza, 1864–84; Trinidad Historical Society, n.d.; Warner (see Dudley, 1899); Wright, 1916; Wyatt (see Dudley, 1899); Young (see Edwards, 1818–19); Zayas y Alfonso, 1931.

116

116 **TEXTS**--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

98

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY
BULLETIN 119

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1938

[title page]

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C. - - - - - - - - - Price [illegible] cents

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

000

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION
Bureau of American Ethnology
Bulletin 119

Anthropological Papers, No. 3

The Caribs of Dominica

By DOUGLAS TAYLOR

[p. 104 is blank]

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

000

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	109
Descriptive and physical	112
Social and sexual	115
Childhood: Games and pastimes	122
Shelters, huts, and houses	125
Basketry	127
Thread, twine, cords, and ropes	133
Fire and light, gums, wax, resin, oils, and pigments	134
Other domestic requisites and their uses	137
Canoes	140
Fishing	143
Cultivation	145
The high woods	147
Legend and tradition	149
Language and vocabulary	152
Index	197

[p.106 is blank]

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

000

ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

		Page
13.	Basket making	160
14.	*a*, Hut in the Reserve. *b*, Refreshments with bamboo for beaker. *c*, Launching a canoe. *d*, Mixed types: Mother and child	160
15.	*a*, Working on canoe before hauling. *b*, Hand ads at work on interior of canoe. *c*, Preparation for hauling canoe	160
16.	*a*, Drawing "la pite." *b*, "La pite" fiber drying. *c*, *d*, Spinning the twine	160
17.	Carib types: *a*, Man. *b*, *c*, Girls. *d*, Woman	160
18.	Dominica Carib man and petroglyphs—Guadeloupe	160

TEXT FIGURES

11.	Map of Carib Reserve	113
12.	"Attrappe-la-main" or "wife leader"	125
13.	"Musique"	125
14.	Scaffolding for karbé before covering	126
15.	Muinan before thatching	126
16.	Structure for kitchen	126
17.	Carib pannier and cover	129
18.	Valise	129
19.	"Panier cocaille"	130
20.	Cassava sifter	130
21.	Cassava squeezer	131
22.	Fan	131
23.	Shoulder basket	132
24.	Game basket	132
25.	Fish pot or landing net	133
26.	Roll-up mat	133
27.	Spinning fiber twine	134
28.	Fire drill	135
29.	Tinder box, engraved and colored with roucou	135
30.	Cassava grater and cassava canoe	137
31.	Platine with cassava bread baking under shelter	138
32.	Cassava palette	138
33.	Boucan or Carib barbecue	139
34.	Cane press	140
35.	Carib canoe with raised sides, masts, and sails	143
36.	Spring snare for game birds	148
37.	Fall trap	148

[p. 108 is blank]

THE CARIBS OF DOMINICA

By Douglas Taylor

Introduction

|0| As the last direct descendants of those first-found "American Redskins," the Island Arawak and the conquering Island Carib, the Caribs of Dominica possess an unique historical and sentimental interest. Today, in fact, they are the only indigenous "Indians" to be found in all the West Indian chain between the Guianas and Florida. Owing, no doubt, to the rugged nature of their homeland, they have outlived their cousins of the other Caribbees (with the partial exception of St. Vincent) by some 200 years. But at last
|2| their course is run, and they are fast disappearing. Of their story little is known and less written; and it is with the purpose of recording, before it becomes too late, something of this vestige of a once virile and powerful people, that my own attempt at knowing them has been made.

|14 Dominica was discovered on Columbus' second voyage, and was so named by him for its being first sighted on Sunday, November 3, 1493. In a letter dated 1494, Diego Chanca, the fleet's doctor, gives its native name as Cayrê, though this may have been a confusion with the Arawak term for island or land in general—kaera, as in Turukaera for Guadeloupe, and Iwannakaera for Martinique. However, the population was then of too warlike a nature, and the Caribbees of too little value in the Spaniards' eyes, to warrant any serious attempts at settlement. It is therefore not until well into the seventeenth century that we get any reliable reports—this time from the French missionary fathers—of the Carib Islanders.

Father Raymond Breton spent nearly 25 years among the Caribs of Dominica, and wrote subsequently a Carib dictionary, a grammar, and a translation of the usual prayers, together with a catechism in their tongue. Under the various headings of the dictionary he gives a concise description of the local beliefs, customs, and arts, as well as of the flora and fauna of the island, domestic utensils, weapons, etc. While he deplores what he naturally considers the Caribs' moral laxity in certain respects (drink, women, and especially their insensibility or indifference to the call of religion; he succeeded, he himself tells us, during his 25 years of zeal, in converting only "quelques enfants

114 sur le point de la mort"), he shows a general liking for his hosts, calls them his friends, and says that theft and lying were unknown to them before the advent of the Christian Europeans—a statement confirmed by La Borde, Rochefort, and Labat. Rochefort further says that while the Caribs of St. Vincent and Dominica were slave owners they never evinced the same cruelty as was common among the whites, but treated their slaves, except for the obligation of work, more like their own children than anything else. Breton gives the native name
[101] of Dominica as Wáitukúbuli.

648 The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), insofar as it left the then unsettled island of Dominica "to the undisturbed possession of the native Indians," was violated by the English only 12 years later, on the pretext that the French had made establishments on the island. From then on until the end of the century these two pillars of civilization ousted one another from their respective nests as often as and whenever opportunity offered; and we can well imagine that between them "the native Indian," if not exterminated, was driven more and more into the fastnesses of forest and mountain. Writing in 1795,
114 Atwood, in his history of Dominica, mentions as still prevalent the
177 Carib custom of head deformation, and the skill with which even the children used bow and arrow. Even the memory of both is now lost, though as late as 1862 the Dominican Caribs sent the following articles to the London Exhibition: A "nest" of 12 baskets, bows and arrows, hebichet (manioc sifter), rattles, powder flasks, dishes.

177 Although I know of no records for that time, it is probable that the first half of the nineteenth century was the period of the Dominica Caribs' final conversion to Christianity, and of the greatest decay in national language, tradition, and custom. An old Carib still living told me that previous to the middle of the last century there was no church in or near the Reserve, but that some Caribs used to go to Marie Galante in their canoes to attend mass, or to have their children baptized.

114 In 1877, and again some 15 years later, Salybia, around which the Caribs were already concentrated, was visited by the American ornithologist, Frederick Ober, who appears to have been the first person since the middle of the eighteenth century to take the slightest interest in this last isolated island tribe. It is noteworthy that he is still remembered in the Reserve today by men and women who could have been little more than infants at the time of his visit. Ober's "Camps in the Caribbees" is a travelog and, as such, unsatisfactory as to ethnological data—as much by lack of detail as by the constant suspicion of inexactitude, or rather, poetic license. I have spoken to several sons and daughters of Ober's two guides at the time of his first visit, and none of them claims to remember having heard such a story as that told by Ober of his encounter in the forest

with the mad chief who spoke only Carib. Nevertheless, owing to 114 the Carib's peculiar reticence, as much with one another as with strangers, this does not exclude the possibility of such an encounter having taken place. Likewise, according to present-day Caribs, his story of the army of coast-bound crabs met with in the mountains is either grossly exaggerated or refers to a small species known as the "soldat" or hermit crab—the "cirique" crab disliking the sea, and the other, black or white, land crabs being rarely found on the windward coast, or in the regions mentioned. Ober found a number of older men and women in Salybia who spoke an Indian dialect as their mother tongue, and even noted the persistence, in that late day, of the differentiation between men's and women's languages. He mentions the snake legend, and speaks of finding archeological remains in St. Vincent, but not in Dominica. (I have heard of, though not seen, old stone implements and "rocks with writing" on the wooded heights between the Akayu River and the Araturi Ravine.) At the time of Ober's visits the so-called reserve was somewhat smaller than at present, but there were other Carib lands and settlements at North End (between the Pegoua and Marigot), Wesley (La Soie), Calibishie, Penville, Morne Caraïbe, and Délice.

In June 1903 the Carib Reserve in its present form was created 131 by decree, and its boundaries delimited as extending from the Akayu 648 (or Raymond) River (some say the Araturi Ravine, and there seems to be no existing document to settle the matter) to Kuària (or Big River), a dry ravine, along the coast, inland, up the latter ravine to the ridge, and hence down the Ravine Pomme to the Pegoua River, which the boundary then follows up to Deux Branches, whence it cuts across in a straight line to the Akayu River. This decree made no attempt to define the status of the reserve, nor of its inhabitants and their chief. In point of fact, the Caribs merely continued their 622 traditional custom of electing from their numbers a chief or head- 648 man (ûbutu), whose duty it is to advise and direct members of the tribe and to settle such disputes as may arise among them. For some years prior to 1930 this institution received a degree of official [845] recognition, with remuneration to the extent of 10 shillings ($2.40) a month. In return for which the local government held the chief responsible for order within the reserve generally, and for the upkeep of the coastal bridle path through Carib territory.

In September 1930, a few days after the hurricane, and a month 648 after my first visit, the so-called "Carib War" took place. Five negro policemen invaded the reserve, seized some tobacco and rum they alleged to be contraband, and made two arrests. Then, a dispute arising, they opened fire on an unarmed crowd of men, women, and children, killing two and injuring others. The Caribs in their turn set upon the police with stick and stone and chased them from

648 the reserve. The upshot of this episode was the discontinuance of the office of chief. The following gleanings, gathered during my often hasty visits to the reserve, half a century after those of Ober, represent fairly well what remains of the Carib language and culture.

Descriptive and Physical

133 The present Carib Reserve extends along some 8 miles of rugged, irregular coastline in the middle of Dominica's windward side. A series of rocky streams flow from the hills and enter the sea by way of deep wooded ravines and small inlets 2 to 3 miles apart. After a few hours' tropical downpour, they "come down," to use a local expression, changing for the time being into roaring and impassable torrents. Between, rounded shoulders or spurs rise 200 or 300 feet above the shore, and run back up to a central mountain ridge some 3 miles distant from and 2,000 feet above the Atlantic. From here, the land falls sharply in woodland and provision grounds to the valley of the Pegoua River, which forms the inland or western boundary of the reserve (fig. 11).

In all, there may be upward of 3,000 acres, but not more than a
tenth of this is capable of any sort of cultivation, by far the greater
491 part being nothing but rock and tuff. A good wide bridle path of
red clay, extremely slippery in wet weather, winds in and out near
the coast, up and down the steep sides of the intervening spurs. The
361 Caribs' dwellings, though usually well hidden by trees and shrub, are
seldom far away from this road. There are but two settlements:
one, Bataka, being 15 minutes' climb from Kuària (or Big River), the
northern boundary; the other, St. Cyr, adjoining the road high above
the Salybia River. Elsewhere their dwellings are scattered along the
hillsides or in the ravines, wherever their owners' fancy or convenience
has placed them, some close together, others more than half a mile
from their neighbor.

161 Disease, malnutrition, and miscegenation—results of the American Indian's unfortunate but very real inadaptability to social and economic conditions other than his own—have reduced the tribe to about 400 souls, of whom less than a quarter are entirely free from negro blood.

141 Physically, the Caribs of Dominica (the product of a cross between
the fierce Carib invader and the docile Arawak Islander in pre-
Columbian days) are a small though sturdy people, the men averaging
around 5 feet 3 inches and the women about 5 feet. I have seen a few
decided dolichocephals, even among the purer types, though the latter
are usually subbrachycephalic (especially the women), with an index
142 of between 79 and 81. They have straight black hair of coarse texture, which acquires in some a reddish tint through exposure to the sun's rays. Their foreheads are high and broad, their cheekbones

wide, their chins well rounded. Mouths and lips are usually small or 142 medium, the noses straight, and sometimes slightly flattened. Their eyes are rather small and deep-set, long and narrow (with the Mongoloid or epicanthic fold), though not as a rule oblique, and are fringed with long silky lashes. Their ears are large, long, and often lobeless, their feet small, broad, and extraordinarily high-arched.

131

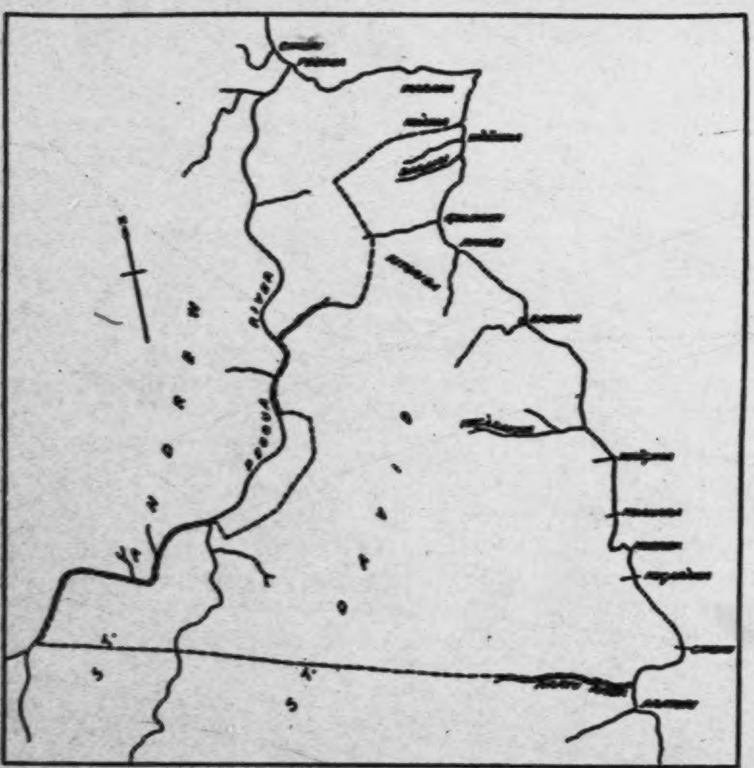


FIGURE 11.—Map of Carib Reserve.

The girls are round-faced, plump, broad-shouldered, and remarkably 142 straight in the loins. Men and women alike have little or no body hair. Their hue varies (apart from reasons of blood admixture), but is always distinct from any Eurafrican blend, being of a light coppery or "feuille morte" tinge, sometimes likened to dried cinnamon.

157 Like so many others of his race, the Dominica Indian is reticent by nature, sensitive, and quick to take offense, and given to occasional moods of melancholy and unreasonableness. Indifference, one of his best-known traits, coupled with innate shyness (the patois term "couquia" expresses what I mean here much better than our

157 "shy." Originally it was the name for a kind of crab which, when it cannot escape unobserved, will curl up and remain perfectly still, so that by no amount of scrutiny or poking can it be made to show the least sign of life) undoubtedly has been one of the principal causes for the bolder, more hot-blooded negro's relatively greater success as a lover, and for the increasing proportion of mixed blood in the reserve today. It has, moreover, contributed to the decay and disappearance of language, legend, and custom; and renders doubly difficult today the task of eking out such vestiges of these as still remain.

578 [754] The war feuds of other days have been replaced by a multitude of petty jealousies and hatreds, but the Caribs still resort to sorcery and piaï as instruments of injury and revenge. Though, or perhaps just because, the boutou (war club) of yore has gone forever, that other no less formidable weapon, the tongues of the womenfolk, rages more mercilessly than before. In vain one looks among his present-day descendants for that fierceness which is said to have characterized the Carib of old, earning for him a symbolic association with the Malfini, or Mansfénix hawk.

481 Much has been made of the Indian's custom of walking in single or Indian file, and this is as true today in Dominica as ever or elsewhere; but it seems to be the natural outcome of a habit acquired of necessity on forest trails rather than a racial tradition. More significant, perhaps, is the Indian's peculiarly emphatic, stumpy, forward-falling gait, which, in a manner, is reproduced in his speech, character, and way of life.

484 The Caribs' love of travel, in an island where nine-tenths of the population never move without good reason outside a radius of half a mile from their homes, is perhaps worth mention. Few are the men of the reserve who have not at one time or another visited one or all of the neighboring islands of Guadeloupe, Marie Galante, Martinique—and that with the prospect of no more than a wine or rum debauch if lucky, and a term of imprisonment if caught. Others have left the country for Guiana, Bolivia, or Cuba, as opportunity offered, in search of adventure rather than fortune. Men, women, even children, think nothing of a 35-mile tramp, over mountain track and through virgin forest, to Roseau, the capital, for the sole purpose of selling a few baskets or of buying a few yards of sail cloth or a pound of nails. Their business concluded and their money spent, they will take the homeward road immediately and, if only there be a moon to guide them, march all night through to arrive home by daybreak.

437 181 Whether cause or effect of poverty, I do not know, but the Indian's proverbial ignorance of the value of money remains as much a fact as his general indifference. In Dominica, at least, he has no other

scale of worth than his present want—I do not say need, advisedly: 437
I have seen a girl starve her baby in order to procure it a baptismal 181
robe it would use only once. When he has made up his mind to buy or sell, the worst bargain in the world will not deter the Carib, nor persuade him to await a better opportunity. On the other hand, he will let you vainly wait months for a basket or some other article you have ordered from him, and appear dissatisfied, if and when he finally condescends to bring it, with the price originally set by himself.

For a number of reasons I have not been able to push my inquiries 000
into Carib life and lore—and especially with regard to the archeological material, which I believe to be plentiful—as far as I should have wished. Perhaps the same petty jealousies of which I have spoken prevented some members of the tribe from communicating to me—or at least prompted them to demand exorbitant sums for their only possibly valuable information—all that they knew of their nation's language and legend. Less excusable is the crass ignorance of many Creoles, white and colored alike, in a position to know better, as to the nature and aims of ethnological research. The ridicule and suspicions of such individuals in a pseudo-civilized community inevitably render the student's task all the harder. On the other hand, I am profoundly grateful to those others with whom I have come in contact, of whatever color or race, for their sincere collaboration and loyal friendship.

SOCIAL AND SEXUAL

Social organization, in as far as it can be said to exist at all, is 621
extremely slack among the Caribs today, and appears to have been so always. Previously there were two chiefs in Dominica: One for the windward side, another for the leeward side of the island, but their authority was never more than of an advisory or paternal nature, even where it was combined with that of magnétiseur or sorcerer. Even the punishment of crimes committed within the tribe was left to the individuals or family concerned. The chiefs, though often of the same family, seem to have been chosen by common consent for some recognized superiority or sagacity (ordeals of pain or hunger endurance were common) rather than by hereditary privilege. In war time, on the contrary, supreme authority was given to another commander, or war chief, who usually led the combined armies of Dominica and Guadeloupe. Today, in spite of certain local prejudices and jealousies, the only social unit which can be said to subsist is the family.

No puberty ceremonies have survived. Nevertheless, girls and 841
women maintain a certain seclusion at their menstrual periods, [881]
especially the first, and do not leave the house, even to bathe in the river or for their personal necessities. Were they to do so, it is said

841 that the "fresh" odor of their blood would cause the "dog spirits" to follow and attack them and any other person who might take the same track. Actual contact with such blood would bring about local swelling, while any man so foolish as to have connection with a menstruating woman would inevitably suffer from severe backache and general debility for some time after. In Creole patois, a woman's menstrual period is known as her moon, and the Indians, formerly at any rate, held the moon to be responsible for this "sickness."

836 648 Chastity is not considered of importance in the unmarried, whether man or woman, as is evinced by the prevalence and good treatment of "outside children" in married households. Without demur, a husband will often support, together with his own legitimate offspring, three or four of his wife's children from various prenuptial lovers; his own illegitimate progeny, if any, remain with their mother. [837] Conjugal infidelity, while regarded in a more serious light, seldom, if ever, leads to a permanent separation or estrangement.

836 Love, as we understand it, is not recognized, although instances of it no doubt exist. Carib girls usually are taken, soon after if not before they reach puberty, by surprise attack, although not by force. By that I mean (and I understand the word *wărikɜd* to mean) that a young man will watch for an opportunity and ambush a girl when she goes to the river or into the woods alone. If discovered, he will chase, catch, and hold her by force, although he will not resort to rape if she still resists him. The curious thing about this is that in no case will the girl shout or call for help or otherwise betray her presence to anyone passing near, when once she is caught; while, on the other hand, even should she submit, she probably will go straight home and tell her mother, knowing full well that in all likelihood she will receive a beating in consequence. This attitude may be explained, perhaps, by the Carib girl's profound sense of shame (see word *couquia*), combined with deep-rooted inherent passivity.

581 The aims of marriage are practical, the main reason being the desire to found a family as an independent economic unit. No established custom with regard to marriageable parties is recognized today, but marriages between crossed cousins (a girl with her paternal aunt's son, a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter) are still common. Although no prenuptial tasks are demanded of the Carib youth today, certain restrictions are sometimes placed on him during his period of courtship, which, for example, may be limited to a monthly or bimonthly visit.

585 591 Weddings (as also baptisms) are celebrated according to the rites of the Catholic Church, and are followed by a dance and drinking bout in the home of the bride's parents, where the couple henceforth take up their residence until such time as they are able to build and establish a home of their own.

It is not usual for husband and wife to spend the whole night 513 together—each retires to sleep on a separate couch or mat.

Rochefort mentions the fact that the Island Carib of his day never 843 touched a pregnant woman. This is still true, be the woman his own wife or another.

I have heard a married woman protest that she was not normally pregnant, but that a piaĭ had put a tête-chien (dog-headed Dominica constrictor) in her belly. On the other hand, legend reports this snake as having had connections with women in the old days.

Parturition is accomplished in a squatting or sitting posture (in 844 the old days by straddling a hammock split lengthwise down the middle), and with the assistance of some old sage-femme, whose manipulations and remedies are of very doubtful benefit to the patient. After giving birth, the Carib woman remains confined to the house for 40 days; i. e., until her "retour de couches."

Suckling by the mother is general, and often of long duration. I 853 came across a little boy of about 4 years, who, after helping his elder sister to carry up water from the river, used to claim and obtain refreshment from his mother's "tote-totes" (breasts; children's speech, possibly from Carib "totaka," to support). In the all-too-frequent event of a woman dying in childbirth, the maternal aunt or even the grandmother will suckle the infant. I was told that any woman who once has borne, irrespective of age, may induce lactation by the use of certain herbs, some applied locally, others taken internally. I was unable to learn their names, with two exceptions: the ripe fruit [278] of the corossol (*Anona muricata*) and a berry they call kurupûm (*Renealmia exaltata* (?)). Whatever the cause, I myself witnessed the case of a woman whose youngest child was a grown man, giving the breast with apparent success to her niece's newborn baby.

Clever as the Carib woman would seem to be in inducing the rise of her milk, so her attempts to get rid of it appear clumsy to us. When the time for weaning has come, her usual procedure is to milk herself onto a fire stone, or, better still, into the nest hole of a species of large black ant, known locally as fourmis mordantes.

The naming of infants has, nowadays, become confused with 553 Christian baptism, though the baptismal name itself is rarely, if ever, used in after life, its place being taken by another, chosen concurrently. Despite the priest's protests, baptism is delayed until at least one month after birth—that is, until the septa of the cranium have joined. The choice of names falls to the godparents—to the godfather in the case of a boy; to the godmother in the case of a girl. Carib names, such as Wàkanik, Màruka, Cimanàri, are known to have been used as recently as 20 years ago, but no living example remains. The nonbaptismal name now takes their place. Most families bear surnames, or, as they call them, "titles"—relics, in all

553 probability, of their forefather's conversion and of the name of his white godfather. Such today are Dauville, Lucien, Viville, John, Darroux, Benjamin, etc. But already these names are falling into disuse and being forgotten even by their bearers, who designate the individual by attaching the patronymic to the name—so, Norbert John, the son of John Jules, the son of Jules Benjamin. Friends sometimes "swap" or exchange names.

551 The Carib of Dominica retains the Indian's traditional dislike of the indiscriminate use of his name. In ordinary forms of address he almost always uses "compère," "commère" (the old "gossip"), "cousin," "chef," "babe," "boy," etc. He habitually refers to people by a nickname (Popote, Fanfan) or by abbreviating the real name (Ma' Ham for Madame Hamilton). When traveling or staying in some other part of the island or abroad, he invariably changes his name, adopting for the time what Roth calls a "nom de voyage." The reason for this, as explained to me by a Carib friend, is that "nobody can do you anything (piai, charm) when they do not know your right name." This idea that the name is part and parcel of the thing or person to whom it belongs, and the adoption of a false denomer, in order to trick the nefarious genii, is, I believe, peculiarly Indian. Thus, before going to the provision grounds or to the woods
[777 for food, a mother of the old school will tell her children that she is
784] going to "fouiller fourmis" (dig for ants), fearing that she would be unlucky and return empty-handed should she pronounce the real name, and say (for example) that she was going to look for wawa (wild yam: *Rajana cordata* L.).

576 Forms of greeting are seldom used by the Caribs. Even after a long absence, a man will arrive with a simple "I am come," and take leave, before a long separation, with no more than "I am going."

262 Women and children eat in the kitchen apart from the men and
[264] after the latter have finished. I understand that this habit is peculiar, in Dominica, to the Caribs; though it would seem to be more a matter of convenience than custom in a community where the women do all their own housework. Vestiges of taboo seem to subsist with regard to the eating of certain foods. One old woman gave as the reason for not eating a species of sea crab, called àgaya, that the
[842] latter sometimes "had to do with women." She averred that this crab, were it to meet a girl or woman on the beach, would crawl up and urinate on her leg, thus rendering her pregnant for him. We read that the Caribs of other days would not eat hen, turtle, or eel for fear of thereby acquiring the unworthy characteristics of these beasts. There are Caribs in Dominica today who, for similar reasons, will not touch the meat of shark, conger eel, or an elsewhere widely consumed variety of fish, locally known as "vive."

On the other hand, Caribs consider the white man's custom of 262
manuring land as disgusting, and would never knowingly eat food so 241
grown. The finding of dung in a provision ground is sufficient reason for abandoning a part or the whole of the cultivation. A serious dispute arose, while I was in the Reserve, because one family accused members of another family of leaving excrement on their land. Perhaps this is one more reason why the Caribs' gardens are so far from their dwellings.

There does not seem to be any hard and fast rule with regard to 462
the division of labor between the sexes, except such as physical fitness dictates. Hunting, fishing, sawing, land clearing, canoe and house building are obviously men's occupations, here as elsewhere. Work on the provision ground is fairly evenly shared. Twine and cords, torches, shark oil, Carib panniers, manioc sifters, and "couleuvres" are made by men usually, though not exclusively. Vegetable oil (palma Christi, known here as "carapat"), open, radial kitchen and garden baskets (corbeilles), the cleaning and (until recently) spinning of cotton, the preparation of farine and cassava bread—except for the grating of the manioc, at which the men often help—and all other household duties are women's work. Although a Carib be returning straight to his house after a fishing expedition, he expects his women folk to meet him on the shore and to carry the fish home. When compelled to carry a load himself, the Carib man always puts it on his shoulder or back, whereas the women have adopted the Creole negro custom of bearing burdens on the head.

River bathing is a daily habit with all Caribs, but once a month 515
the Carib man takes a special kind of bath in the privacy of his own 754
home with water in which certain herbs have soaked. The names
of three so used are: the sensitive plant (*Mimosa pudica*), sou marqué [824]
(*Cassia bicapsularis*), and kudjuruk (or kugururk—unidentified). The bath must be taken on the night when the moon is new or "good" (that is, for planting), and its object is that of a spiritual antiseptic, said to counteract and defeat the evil effects of possible sorcery or piai directed against the bather during the preceding moon.

A few simple remedies used by the Caribs of Dominica today are, 757
in the case of— 278

Local inflammation: Half of an ember-baked green papaya applied hot as a poultice.
Internal contusion: The gum of the lowland red gommier (*Bursera gummifera*) as a plaster.
Wounds and cuts: The pounded heart of the kanu tree(?), together with salt. Shark oil and pimento leaves are also used, as is the fat of the Tête-Chien boa.
Flux, or intestinal chill: An infusion of the bark or roots of the wild white guava.

757 Colic: An infusion of the seeds or leaves of the bay tree (Carib, Achuru: 278 *Pimenta acris*).

Debility in women: A concoction made from the tuber called Carib (or red) chalotte (*Cipura* sp.?).

Lack of appetite: Water in which has soaked Cimaruba chips (wild quassia, *Simarouba amara*).

These are straightforward houshold simples. Others partake more of the nature of charms. Of the latter, the best known are: "Surette de montagne," a sweet-smelling vine found only in the depths of the high-woods, and "l'envers caraïbe" (*Maranta indica* sp.?), a rare species of small-leaved native arrowroot (not the ordinary white or red maranta) with reddish leaf stems and tubers that go straight down and are said to intertwine or "plait" themselves. Native tobacco and a stupefying variety of ivy, or caapi, are known, but are not, as far as I could learn, now used. Earth or clay is eaten [261] by some, but the practice is regarded as a vice by the community. On the other hand, many vouch for the good effects of one's own or another's urine, drunk warm, as a cure for poisoning or stomach ache (an emetic?); while others chew the gum of the gommier (*Dacryodes hexandra* and *Icica heptaphylla*) in order to improve their wind." [832] An aphrodisiac, known as "poudre pine tortue" (powdered turtle's penis) is made and sold in the island.

787 "A Carib does not dream for nothing," I was told. He believes his dreams announce or portend grave events affecting himself, his family, or his friends. It certainly is amazing how often such omens prove correct.

753 All serious sickness and death itself are looked upon, not as the 754 result of disease or age, but as the works of extra-natural agencies known as piaĭ. Thus, little confidence is placed in ordinary medical means of restoring health. The Caribs do not fear death, but are terrified at the idea of the hospital, and especially of being separated from their home environment in their last moments.

754 A piaĭ, to become effective, must be instituted by three persons—usually two men and a woman. The actual harm in any piaĭ is wrought by spirits who have, so to speak, no personal grievance, but, bullet-like, are merely unleashed and set onto a given person when he or she unwittingly touches some object—such as a stick or branch placed across the path—harmless in itself, but magically dealt with by the piaĭmen in order to make it the agency for releasing the piaĭ. So one may, by good luck or cunning, escape a piaĭ intended for oneself, or fall, by ill chance, under a piaĭ intended for somebody else.

"They are taking life tonight," said an old Carib friend of mine the night he died of what I took to be a pleurisy brought on by the enforced wearing of wet clothes. I have often wondered whether he referred to the persons he believed to have bewitched him or to the death spirits themselves. Three years later (two weeks ago as I write now)

his widow assured me that it was useless for me to try to save their 754
10-year-old daughter, as the child had fallen under the same spell
as the father, and had been sick ever since the latter's death. The
girl was well grown, but very thin, and had swellings on neck and
shoulders. She said her whole body hurt her. At the time I last
saw her alive she kept vomiting a light colorless froth, and had a very
quick pulse and normal temperature. At her own request I procured
eggs and milk for her, and sent for the doctor on my own responsibility.
But the message was either distorted or misunderstood, for the doctor
neither sent any word nor put in an appearance; and when, 5 days
later, the girl died, she was buried without a certificate, as is customary
in the reserve. If, as is probable, it was a case of tubercular meningitis,
an immediate operation might have saved the child's life.

Death is announced as soon as it takes place by a single protracted 764
blast of the conque shell (corne lambi). Law and hygiene demand [763]
that burial take place within 24 hours (though Labat records having
seen the body of a Carib dead several months and perfectly preserved
through the use of roucou, *Bixa orellana*), but this is preceded, whenever
possible, by a wake to which all and sundry come to make pigs of
themselves on the rum provided. When the last "grog" is drunk
and the coffin—made on the spot by some of the men present—nailed
down, a procession is formed to conduct the corpse to the little cemetery
of Sainte Marie, the last home of the last Antilleans. The reading
of a French prayer by some old woman more literate than the rest,
the tolling of a cracked bell, and the coffin is bestowed in a hastily
dug grave almost within reach of the Atlantic waves. Burial in the
foetal posture under the floor of the karbé was suppressed by the
priests some 70 years ago. The depth of the grave as dug today is
supposed to be equal to the length of the body.

Eight days after the burial a sort of second wake is held in the house 765
where the deceased died. In the event of this not having been his or
her usual abode, two wakes, or "prières," as they are called, are held.
The deathbed is decorated with white flowers, candles, and objects
having belonged to the dead man or woman. Until midnight women
and girls sit around a table and sing French cantiques, while men and
boys wander about, chatting and drinking. Fires are then lighted
outside the house and cocoa and cassava bread prepared and offered
to those present. At this time the girls usually pair off with the boys
and disappear into the bushes, while the older men and women sit
round the fire drinking rum and telling tales and conundrums. Sometimes
a sort of ronde, or Reigen, is danced around the fire before the
dispersal at daybreak. The meaning and object of this ceremony [775]
seems to be a kind of spiritual fumigation to rid the house of the now
nefarious spirit of the new dead, which continues to lurk there after
burial, as perhaps also of the evil powers that caused the death.

765 The belief in the "uncanny" quality of the newly dead as well as of the newborn and yet unnamed child is very widespread. Whatever its origin, the local priests condemn this ceremony; and several have assured me that there is nothing in the Christian religion to justify it.

526 Until recent years a type of wrestling was much practiced by the Dominica Caribs whenever they were drunk or quarrelsome. I have never witnessed it personally, but from the accounts of all those who have, it seems to have been more in the nature of a sporting contest than of an aggressive attack.

CHILDHOOD: GAMES AND PASTIMES

000 Fred Ober wrote of the Carib children of Dominica in 1877 that they should be the happiest on earth because of their freedom to play and wander naked among rocks and river pools. Perhaps. But children the world over are usually happy as long as they are well, and rarely appreciate relative advantages or disadvantages. The street urchin of our own lands takes the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" as much for granted as does the pampered darling of wealthy parents his movies, candy, and other luxuries.

291 177 One may still find Carib youngsters clothed as nature made them running around and about their homes. This does not mean that they never wear clothes, but merely that dressing is to them what dressing up is to our children. The school has come to Salybia since Ober's time, and although few of the present generation of young Caribs have learned anything of value to them there, they have come to regard the everyday use of clothes and shoes together with the talking of broken English as marks of especial superiority. Can we blame them? The Negro policemen who have established themselves in the reserve despite Carib protest, the Negro storekeeper in Marigot where they run errands for their parents, their own Negro schoolmaster—they all do these things, and who shall deny that such august personages are their Carib elders' superiors in authority, wealth, and knowledge of the world?

855 Undemonstrative as they are, the Caribs show a great deal of affection for their children, and an almost equal reluctance to discipline or punish them. In consequence, the children do pretty much as they please, and neither eat, sleep, nor bathe at regular hours; but get their whack of coffee, rum, or whatever else is going. Like other young people brought up in the tropics, they seem apathetic when compared with those of northern climes, and will often sit quiet and idle in a corner for hours rather than bestir themselves to go out and play. 857 Even their games are usually of a sedentary order. In "pick-up," a game common to several parts of the world, the players squat opposite

one another and try to pick up from a heap before them a given number 857
of nut shells in time to catch another they have just thrown in the air.
Story telling and the asking of conundrums are among their favorite 857
pastimes—as indeed they are those of their elders when these have 538
leisure, as at a wake or during a "prière." Some of the stories are hashed-up versions of our own fairy lore and legend, while others have a more local flavor. Here is one of the latter:

A little girl wanted to visit her Nène-nène (marraine, godmother), who lived 539
on the other side of a deep, wide river. When she reached its banks, she met a woman whom she asked to carry her across. The woman—who was no other than Maman d' l'Eau herself (Water-Mama, protectress of all fish)—said she would do so willingly were it not for fear of being betrayed. The little girl promised secrecy and was borne to the other side. When she arrived at her godmother's house everybody wanted to know who had helped her to cross the river. At first she refused to tell, but on being pressed, finally gave the secret away. Just before she set out for home her godmother gave her three seeds, one of gombo (or ochra), one of pois (pea, perhaps the pois doux shade tree, *Inga laurina*), and one of lavandre (*Renealmea caribbaea*, not our lavender), telling her to drop one each time she heard the Fou-fou (sp. humming bird, smaller than that known as colibri) sing. When the girl had gone a little way, Fou-fou came flying over her head and sang:

"Cassa-linon bi-bi, cassa-linon bi;
O-bi-a, qui trahit Maman d' l'Eau.
O-bi-a, qui trahit Maman d' l'Eau."

(N. B.—In Carib, cassa means porpoise, bibi is the word of address for mother.)

Thereupon the girl dropped the lavandre seed, which immediately grew into a big bush whose blossom Fou-fou stopped to suck. Later, when the bird had caught up with her and repeated its song, she dropped the gombo seed, and the same thing happened again. By the time she got to the river she had dropped all three seeds, but the humming bird was still far behind, busy with the flowers of the pois tree. Maman d' l'Eau asked if she had been betrayed. The little girl said no, and was carried across as before. She had reached the other bank safely, and was well on her way home, when Fou-fou arrived at the river, singing his song, and alighted on Maman d' l'Eau's outstretched hand. Maman d' l'Eau was so enraged with her spy—for such the humming bird was—for his delay, that she seized and tore him in four pieces.

Here, perhaps, is the explanation of a phrase I have heard used by one or two children, when they did not wish to go unaccompanied on some errand: "Fou-fou ké fai' moin perd'—the Fou-fou will lead me astray." Again:

A young man, Lé, falls in love with a beautiful girl, Lidha, who unfortunately is "moumou," that is, deaf and dumb. Nevertheless he marries her. One day he goes to the woods to hunt. He kills many birds, but instead of bringing them home, he covers his body with their rotting carcasses. Malfini, the mansfénix or West Indian hawk, flies to Lidha's hut and sings:

"Lidha, Lidha, Lé mourut en bois,
La-çi-vo-ka."

539 Lidha perceives that something is wrong, and follows Malfini, who leads her to the woods and repeats his song. On reaching the place where Lé is lying, Malfini repeats the song a third time, and Lidha recovers her hearing and speech.

Or:

A newly married man notices that his wife habitually gets up and leaves the hut as soon as she supposes him to be asleep. He follows her secretly to the river, where, after singing the following incantation,

"Yantibu, my dear, my dear,
Yantibu;
Ma-sa-zing po-lian-pang—ça malheureux:
Sababap, sabap,"

she turns into a crabier (sp. egret) and flies away.

The next day he challenges his wife to a singing contest, and, when she declares she knows no more, repeats the above lines himself, whereupon the woman turns back into a crabier, flies onto the roof, and is shot by the husband.

(N. B.—Yan in the first line and lian in the third line would seem to be parts of the Carib verb, n-iĕ etc., I do, or say. Tibu is the pronominal suffix for thee.)

Another story, of which I have never been able to get a complete version, tells of a man who used to go to the house of a "zombie" (spirit) and sing:

Touk-téka touk, ankou-bab,
Mo-koûkoua, mo-koûkoua, li teng teng

in order to make the spirits come out and dance. It appears he came to a bad end, poor fellow. Whether the words have a meaning or not I cannot say. Some say "mo-kék'ra" instead of "mo-koukoua."

The conundrums, common to most of the islands, are innumerable, and of the following order:

(What is it that) has no roots when it has leaves, and no leaves when it has roots?—(Answer) A sailing vessel.

A child that beats its mother?—(Answer) A pestle.

Water standing upright?—(Answer) Sugarcane.

538 Before asking a conundrum one must challenge with the words "Tim-tim," whereupon the challenged answers "bras chesse (bras sec)." Similarly, before starting out to tell a tale, it is usual to preface the words "Cric crac."

857 In the water game called "Maman d' l'Eau," after the Fish-Mamma—a personage, by the way, whose reputed presence in certain pools at certain seasons still commands the very real respect of the grown-ups—the child who is "it" asks the others in turn whether they eat flesh or fish. Those who say flesh may go free, while the more daring spirits who reply "fish" must be caught, ducked, and devoured.

Tops and stilts are known and made on the reserve from local materials.

The black wax of the native wild stingless bee (miel sur) is used by children and others for modeling grotesque human and animal figures.

Out of six left-over strands of larouman, many children make a kind of fingerstall, which contracts and holds fast the finger unwarily inserted (fig. 12). It is known as an "attrappe-la-main," or "wife leader." 857

They also make two toy figures from strands of split coconut palm. One, accordeonlike and sometimes several feet long, they call a "musique" (fig. 13) (Roth found these among the Guiana Indian children, who call it a rattle); the other, known as "soufflette" (or whistle) strangely resembles in miniature the large trumpets of spirally rolled manjagua bark from the Rio Uaupes, described by Roth.

Perhaps one reason why the Carib child does not "waste" energy in play is that he or she is expected at an early age to exert himself or herself to help the parents with their tasks: Carrying up water from the river, running errands, and so on. Later they work in the provision grounds, catch crayfish, and cut or carry louarouman from the woods for basket making—and all this in conjunction with supposedly daily attendance at school. I have seen girls of 12 sent off with a nine-hand bunch of bananas (70 pounds or more) on their heads, carry it without any rest over 10 miles of rough hilly road, and return some hours later with a heavy basket load of provisions. Nor is this to be regarded as the result of unkindness: the parents impose much harder tasks upon themselves, and are ignorant of the requirements of immaturity. What wonder, then, if such premature labor, often coupled with an insufficiency of sleep and nourishment, result in a small-statured race who mature late (the average age for puberty in girls is 15) and grow old early? The Carib children of Dominica undoubtedly owe such health and strength as they possess to a sound stock, to their daily baths in the river pools, and to the sun's rays that constantly embrace their little bodies; but I very much doubt whether their lot, today at any rate, is as enviable as Ober supposed it to be.

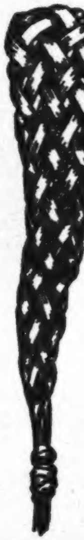


FIGURE 12.—"Attrappe-la-main" or "wife leader."

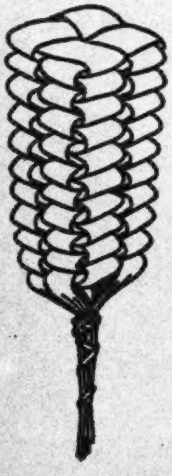


FIGURE 12.—"Musique."

SHELTERS, HUTS, AND HOUSES

Temporary shelters, known generally as ajoupas or, among the Carib, as karbé, are often built in the woods or elsewhere where there 342

342 is work to be done. Two, three, or more young saplings are cut and their ends stuck in the ground, or simply bent over to form what may be called the rafters. These are joined at their free ends by one or more tie beams and attached to two uprights sunk in the ground. The whole is covered with the leaves of the ailes mouche (*Carludovica plumieri*) or, where available, of yanga (?).

Until recent times the usual but now rare dwelling of the Dominica Caribs is known as the muinan (French spelling), the koubouya of the Roucouyenne Indians. This is a simple structure consisting of a ridge pole supported by a main post at either end (fig. 14). The rafters, crossed by rods (gaulettes) to which the thatch is tied, reach to the ground. The whole is covered with cane straw, vetiveria, or, more rarely, with the leaf of the yattaghu palm [1] (*Syagrus* sp.). The lianas, called mibi and calabouli, are used to tie the thatch to the thatching rods, which are made of wood or bamboo. An interesting thing about these muinans (fig. 15), of which several are still in use as dwellings, is that they were commonly built double, one within the other, after the style of a Carib pannier, in order better to withstand storms.

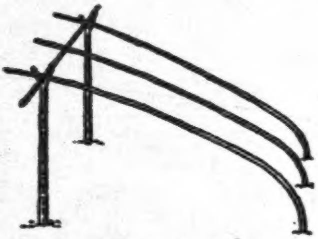


FIGURE 14.—Scaffolding for karbé before covering.

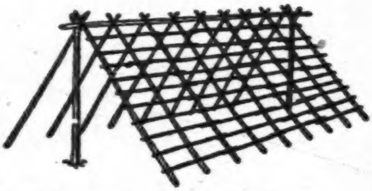


FIGURE 15.—Muinan before thatching.

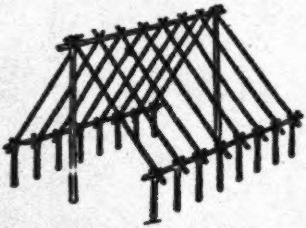


FIGURE 16.—Structure for kitchen.

Most kitchens in the reserve (in the West Indies the kitchen is always in an outhouse, even in the homes of the whites), though curiously enough few dwellings, take the form of an improved muinan, raised on posts and runner beams several feet from the ground, the sides boarded in, and the roof covered with coconut or yattaghu palm thatch (fig. 16). This type of house appears to correspond to the taboui of Cayenne.

The most common type of dwelling house today—though only in the last 15 to 20 years has it become so—is the regularly built hut, raised some 2 to 4 feet from the ground on piles, with flooring and walls of hardwood boards and roof of shingles (preferably from caconier: *Ormosia dasycarpa*, or bois lézard: *Vitex divaricata*). This type of hut is found, with variations, all through the islands, and does not appear to be of native origin. The wood is usually cut and hewn into shape by the future owner, the foundations dug with the help of friends, the house raised (or mounted) with the assistance of a professional carpenter (who may take 25 or 30 shillings for his work), and the roof covered in 1 day at an almost ceremonious gathering of by no means abstemious helpers and friends. 342

---

[1] The palm called "yattaghu" or "yattahou" has a leaf similar to the glou-glou, no spines, and corresponds to Duss, *Syagrus* in every respect except that the nuts are only half the size he mentions.

The following are among the commoner woods employed by the Caribs in house building: 342 824

Stakes and piles.—Mangle rouge (*Rhizophora mangle* L.) and mangle blanc, acouquoi (*Bucida bucera* L.).

Boards.—Bois bander (*Chiona glabra*), bois rivière (*Chimarris cymosa*), bois sept ans (*Meliosma* sp.), noyer (*Zanthoxylum tragodes*).

Posts.—Balata (*Mimusops* sp.), carapite ("black-heart," possibly *Amanoa caribbaea* (?), not to be confused with carapate).

Rafters.—Angelin (*Andira inermis*), caconier (*Ormosia dasycarpa*).

Laths.—Bois rivière (*Chimarris cymosa*).

Beams.—Bois lézard (*Vitex divaricata*), laurier caca (*Guettarda parvifolia*), laurier rose (a sweet-smelling wood of reddish hue, large tree. Not the so-called rose laurel of other islands).

BASKETRY

Together with the building of dugout canoes, basketry now constitutes the Caribs' main industry and source of revenue. Apart from those destined for sale, they make other articles for domestic use of a superior quality, and which seldom are seen outside the reserve. 285

The materials used today, and the manner of their preparation, are as follows:

(1) Larouman or, more correctly, l'uarumã (*Ischnosiphon arouma*), 285 824 the itirite of the Guiana Indians. A slender, palmlike reed with long spatulate leaves, attaining from 12 to 15 feet in height. Cut and tied in bundles of 70 to 100 stems and brought down to the coast, where it is spread out on the beach to dry in the sun for several days. Without this process, during which it acquires an agreeable red russet color, the stems would soon become brittle and unworkable. Some of them are subsequently steeped for a couple more days in "mudholes" by the riverbank, where they take on a fine shiny black. The blackened stems are, however, less strong than those not so treated. Before use, each stem is split in four or six strands which are then drawn between a knife blade and the finger until the pith is removed and they have been made fine enough for the work in view. If white strands are wanted, as for the linings of Carib panniers, they may be obtained by scraping the outer surface of red strands, or merely by laying these inner side uppermost.

285
824 (2) Roseau (*Gynerium saccharoides*), a sugarcanelike reed found near water. The midrib of the leaf is peeled, bleached by laying it in the dew, and dried in the sun. While inferior to larouman in strength, it is of a purer white, and is therefore used in small decorative baskets and for plaiting hats. Its cane, employed for edging Carib panniers, is merely peeled and scraped.

(3) Racines-palmiste, the aerial, reddish colored roots of the mountain palmiste (*Euterpe montana*, *Areca regia*). Used especially for making shoulder carry-alls. Cut, peeled, and scraped, then split into two or three strands according to their size and to the worker's requirements.

(4) Mibi (*Stigmatophyllum puberum*), liane-pomme (*Merecuja* sp.), liane grise, calabouli, and corde caco are the local names of varying and differently used lianas. The first requires only to be scraped, after which it may be dyed yellow or mauve—in the first instance by steeping it in the expressed juice of a small-bush carrotlike fruit, locally called saffron; in the second case, by soaking it in an infusion of the leaves of a small or medium sized tree known as "tan" (?)—not *Byrsonima spicata*, which is also known as "tan." Liane-pomme (the water lemon of the English Creoles) is only peeled before use, while the others require no preparation.

(5) Latanier (*Thrinax* sp.). The septa of the mature leaves are split in two and worked before becoming too dry.

(6) Bamboo. Dried indoors and split into fine strands.

(7) Balizier (*Heliconia bihai* and *H. caribbaea*). The midrib is sun-dried and parallel lengths tied with twine to form simple roll-up mats.

(8) Bakua (*Pandanus* sp.). As (5).

(9) Vétiver (*Vetiveria odorata*). The leaf is bleached by boiling, dried in the sun, and split in two for plaiting into hats, etc.

285
415 (1) Carib panniers (pagàra) are made in wicker ("Armadillo") pattern, multiple weft, and in duplicate. The inner lining, or "mama," is all white, while the outer covering, or "skin," is usually worked in two or more colors (fig. 17). Between these two component parts a layer of sun-dried cachibou (*Maranta cachibou*) or balizier leaves is arranged carefully to render the basket watertight. The orthodox style consists of a receptacle and a cover (both in duplicate), the latter having two-thirds the depth and a foundation of four strands more than the former, over which it fits tightly. Made in all sizes and shapes, the commonest average, without the cover, is about 30 by 24 inches by 18 inches deep. Some are as large as an old-fashioned trunk, while others, of miniature dimensions, are made in "niches" of 9 or 12 baskets that fit into one another after the manner of a Chinese puzzle. A game-basketlike variety of identical construction, but whose width is about one-third its height and a quarter its length (so

as to admit being slung by a cord from the shoulder), is known as "portemanteau." "Valise" is the name given to a still more flattened type (fig. 18). 285 4/5

There are only two or three Caribs left in Dominica who claim to know how to make baskets of the so-called tressed variety, and those examples of the latter I so far have seen must be classed as of freak rather than orthodox pattern. Probably as the market for the better work grew worse—the average price for the ordinary Armadillo pagàra has fallen in 10 years from a dollar to a shilling—the older men ceased to interest themselves in these ornamental wefts and the young men never learned them.

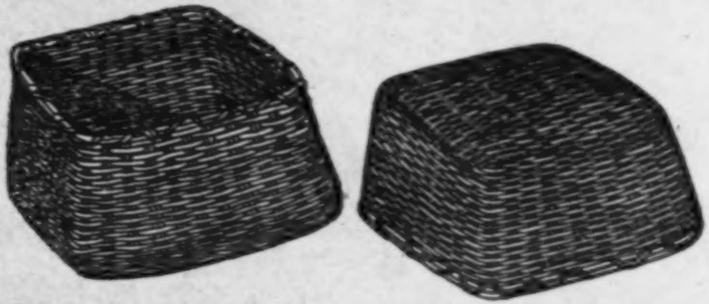


Figure 17.—Carib pannier and cover.

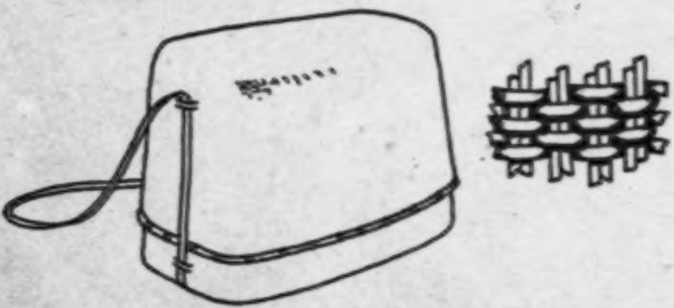


Figure 18.—Valise.

Other utensils manufactured from larouman strands are:

(a) The "panier cocaille," used for storing eggs, etc., in shape somewhat resembling an openwork basket with hexagonal base (fig. 19). Made in open hexagonal weave with horizontal cross-weave. About 1 foot to 18 inches across.

(b) The "hébichet," or cassava sifter, made in the alternate one-over-and-under-two pattern, either round or, less commonly, rectangular (fig. 20). The projecting strands are bound onto a double-hoop edging made from two superimposed lengths of a stout liana known

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

285
445
locally as corde caco (*Heteropteris platyptera*). The rectangular variety are of closer weave and somewhat resemble trays.

(*c*) Cassava squeezer (fig. 21) (matapi or couleuvre, so called) has gone out of general use and become extremely rare in the last 20 years through neglect or inability on the part of the younger generation in their manufacture. The domestic article measures 4½ to 5 feet in length and about 4 inches across the mouth when not in use; its making entails the use of a great deal of larouman, of time, and of care. The local method seems to have been that described by Roth with regard to the Guiana productions, except that here the final strands seem to have been bound around a liana or bamboo ring sometimes instead of being woven into the more usual stirrup-like contrivance for taking the lever. I have endeavored to reintroduce their manufacture and general use, especially with regard to the smaller models, which might form an article of sale to tourists.

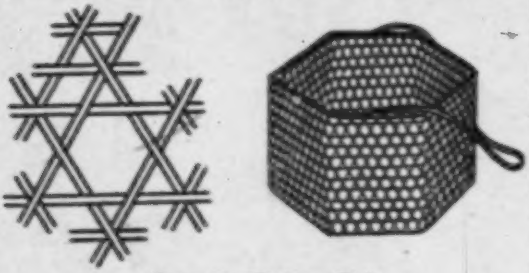


FIGURE 19.—"Panier ocellé."

285
352
(*d*) Matùtu, or Carib tables. These have quite disappeared today, though some old men remember having seen them in their youth. From such descriptions as the latter could give me, they would seem to have resembled the rectangular hèbichets, with short sticks, about 18 inches in height, set into the four corners. From all verbal accounts they were made of larouman, and not, as some authors state, from latanier (*Thrinax* sp.).

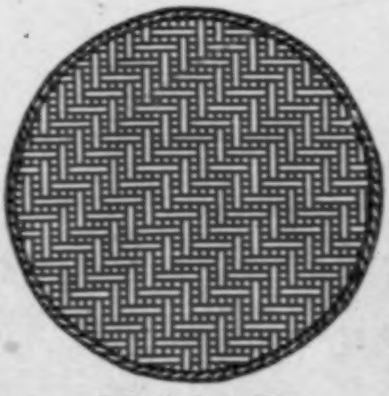


FIGURE 20.—Cassava sifter.

285 (*e*) Finger traps, or "wife leaders", as they are sometimes called, are also made of larouman, but have been described already in the section entitled "Childhood: Games and Pastimes."

(2) Roseau is often used, mixed with larouman, in Carib panniers destined for sale. It is of a purer white than the latter and more easily worked. The cane itself invariably forms the bordering or edging of the panniers. In recent years hats have been woven by the

women from this material. Fans resembling those of the Guiana Indians are woven in Dominica today, though curiously, not by the Caribs themselves, from a mixture of roseau and larouman strands (fig. 22).

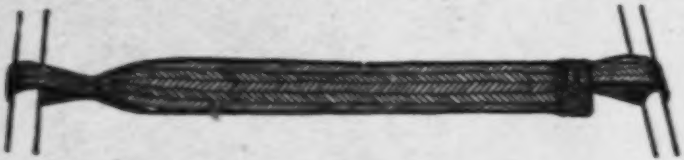


FIGURE 21.—Cassava squeezer.

(3) Racines-palmistes, the reddish and, in the big tree, aerial roots of the mountain palmiste (*Areca* sp., *Euterpe montana*), provide exceedingly stout strands which might serve a number of purposes, but are used almost exclusively for the manufacture of shoulder baskets (patois has "djolà" and "conten", more rarely the Carib "catoli"; Roth calls them knapsacks) (fig. 23). They are made here in both close and openwork weave, the former being more common, and of the alternate, one-strand-over-and-under-two-others (which latter are in pairs) pattern. The openwork mesh is of the diagonal type, with interpolated horizontal weft.

(4) These lianas are used, as is bamboo, in making round and oval-based baskets with simple radiate warp and over-and-under-one weft. Since they have a handle hooped over the top, these are known generally as "paniers à l'anse." The warp strands cross at their centers in superimposed groups of four or six, and into these the weft is woven spirally—at first over and under each successive pair, then over and under each successive strand. Market baskets are made from mibi, while the stouter lianas are used in those made for carrying produce from the provision grounds. It seems likely, as Roth suggests with regard to similar baskets in Guiana, that this type is of African and not native origin.

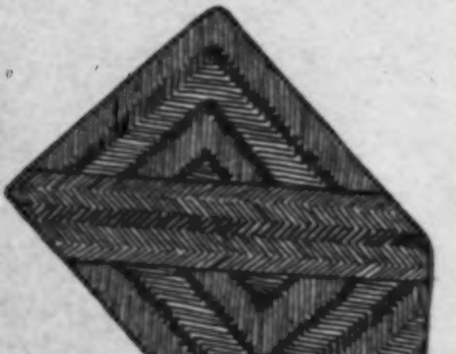


FIGURE 22.—Fan.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

285 415 (5) Latanier (*Thrinax* sp.), a fan-shaped palm which seems to have been used in the past, according to old authors, much more than at the present time, having then served in the manufacture of tables, squeezers, and even baskets. Perhaps the palm has become scarcer, or it may be that the authors were mistaken. Within the reserve its use is confined today to broom making, and to plaiting and sewing its septae into a sort of game basket (fig. 24) they call "djokom". The people in another part of the island (Penville), where there used to be many and still are a few Caribs, also make of latanier a kind of sack which they use for pressing their manioc.

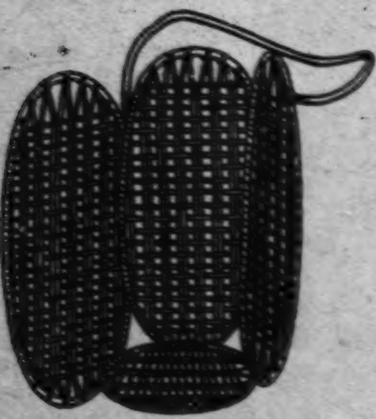


Figure 23.—Shoulder basket.

[482] (6) Bamboo is used as well as for the round baskets mentioned in (4) for making sambwa, a kind of round basket with narrowed mouth, used for carrying fish caught off the rocks. It is also employed as an alternate to cotton thread in making [227] kali, a local variety of fish pot or landing net used for catching flying fish (fig. 25). The sambwa is, except for its shape, of similar construction to the round radial-type baskets and has a cord handle. The kali have a bamboo frame and handle and an open hexagonal mesh (similar to that of the panier cocaille) of cotton thread or bamboo.

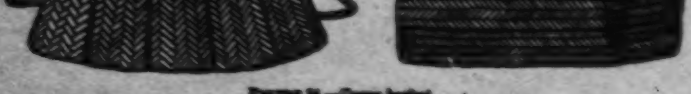


Figure 24.—Game basket.

285 (7) Simple roll-up mats (fig. 26), on which children or others may [515] sleep, are made from the balisier leaf, dried and bound together horizontally to the required length by Bromelia twine.

(8) Bakwa (*Pandanus* sp.) and (9) vétiver (*Vetiveria odorata*), imported, one from the Pacific, the other from the East Indies, and used here for plaiting hats (an industry of obviously foreign origin) and occasionally for covering huts and shelters.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

THREAD, TWINE, CORDS, AND ROPES

COTTON.—Two varieties, probably indigenous and known respectively from the colors of their leaf stems as "black" and "white" cotton, are to be found close to most of the houses, and attain, since they are always left to themselves, the size of orange or apple trees. Used today only for calking canoes and for stuffing pillows and mattresses, cotton was spun by the Caribs within the memory of most of those now living on the reserve. The native method was shown to me by an old woman. A band of teased cotton wound around the left wrist is spun onto a long stick or spindle by rolling the latter on the right knee. The upper end of the spindle (fuseau) is crooked. A round disk of calabash, through whose center the stick is passed, acts as base for the growing spool of thread. 283

[285
227]

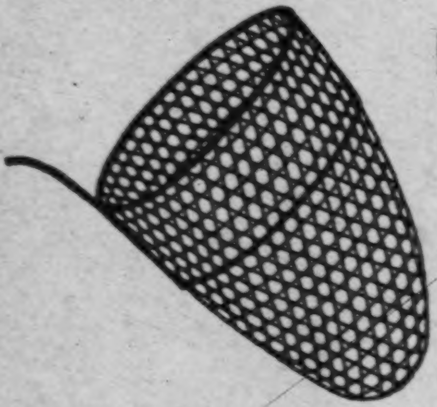


FIGURE [illegible].—Fish pot or landing net.

LA PITTE (KURUWA, KARATA, SILK GRASS, *Bromelia* sp.).—The leaf—longer than that of the pineapple, and without thorns—is drawn through a noose of maho or other cord attached to a projecting limb. An even pull with both hands on a short round stick over which the leaf is folded disengages the fiber and leaves the green pithy matter in the noose. The "drawn" fiber is next bleached and dried in the sun, and twine spun from it by rolling it on the naked thigh with the flattened palm of the hand (fig. 27)—a downward stroke spinning simultaneously in the required thickness two or as many single ply as are wanted, followed by an upward stroke which unites them in one thread or twine. Any length can be spun thus by the addition of more fiber when the end of one lot is reached. Twine made from la pitte is strong and lasts well in water. When used for fishing line it is strengthened and stiffened by the addition of a little gum from the gommier tree. Thread made for binding the borders of Carib baskets is rubbed with mani to render it more durable. La pitte may be made into multiple-ply cords and bands for carrying loads, tying baskets, etc.

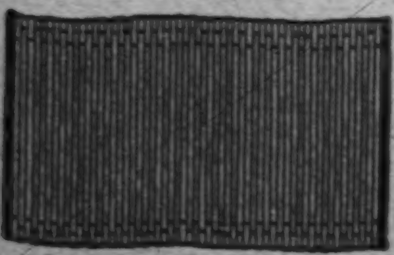


FIGURE [illegible].—Roll-up mat.

283 It would, and doubtless has in the past, serve to weave excellent hammocks.

Langue-boeuf, a species of wild agava (*Agave americana*), is also used in the manufacture of thread and twine. In this case the separation of the fiber necessitates a preliminary soaking or rotting process, as in the case of hemp. Once disengaged, the fiber is submitted to the same processes as *Bromelia*.

Maho (or mahaut) is the name given to a number of trees of different species, whose only common characteristic is the use to which their bark may be put in making ropes and cords. They are: Maho noir (or bois violon, *Guatteria* sp.), maho piment (*Daphnopsis caribbaea*), maho cochon, maho doux, maho figue. Some, such as bois violon, are indigenous, while others, such as the bananalike maho figue, are imported. Strips of the bark from these trees are shredded and twisted—some rudely, to make halters and ropes, others being tressed carefully into as fine a twine as that of *Bromelia* or *Agave*.

Besides the above-mentioned raw materials, all of which require more or less preparation and manufacture, the woods abound in all manner of natural cords and lianas, some as thick as a man's arm, some as fine as cotton yarn. These are put to a number of uses, some, such as mibi (*Stigmatophyllum puberum*), being used for tying palm-leaf or cane-straw thatchings of muinan and karbé, as well as in basketry; while others, such as caapi (species of native ivy), are employed in the catching of crayfish (see below).

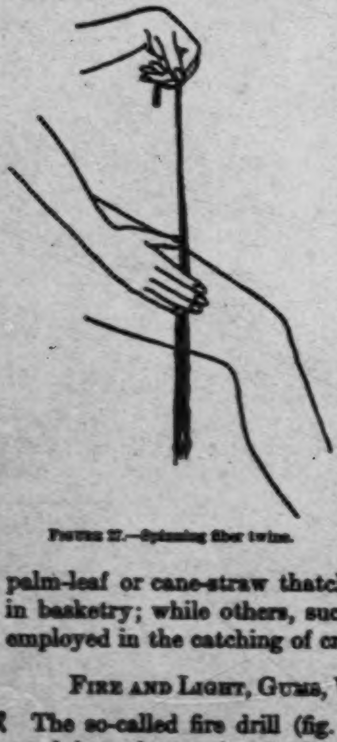


FIGURE 27.—Spinning fiber twine.

FIRE AND LIGHT, GUMS, WAX, RESIN, OILS, AND PIGMENTS

372 The so-called fire drill (fig. 28), with which fire was obtained by revolving a long pointed stick between the palms of the hands, after the manner of a swizzle stick or "lélé," in a groove made in another and softer piece of wood, is remembered, but no longer used.

The Carib tinder box (fig. 29), locally called "briquet" or "coucou du feu" (the coyembouc mentioned by Father Labat as having been used in his day for storing trinkets, etc.), is made from a species of calabash known as "callebasse-boite." Two halves, which may be decorated or plain, are fitted together after the manner of an Easter egg, and contain a "fire stone" of red, white, or black jasper, an old

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

iron file, and a piece of dry rotten wood to catch the spark. The 372 specimen I have has a diameter of 6.5 cm and a total length of 12 cm. These are still in general use, especially among those who go hunting or canoe making in the high woods.

The dried root of the tree fern is used to preserve fire and to carry it from place to place. Spongey and peat-like, this wood will burn for hours without smoke or flame, generating great heat and leaving hardly any ash. Hence the Caribs give it the name "watu hâkuiyá—voracious fire."

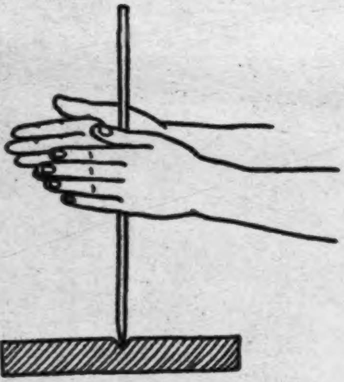


Figure 28.—Fire drill.

354

Torches (flambeaux) of two kinds are still made and used. Gum—usually from the white gommier (*Dacryodes hexandra*), of which practically all the dugout canoes are made—is collected after scraping the bark at the base of the trunk. It is then molded, candlelike, around a central wick made from the pounded wood of the tree fern, of bois diable (*Licania hypleuca*), or of icaque (*Hirtella triandra*). The whole is wrapped in the shroud or outer covering of the unopened palmiste heart, or in that of the yattaghu (?) palm, and bound up with *Bromelia* twine. (The palmiste of the islands is the manicol (*Euterpe* sp.) palm.) Another kind of torch is made from the so-called bois chandelle (*Amyris* sp.). The wood is merely split lengthwise and bound up in [372] bundles or faisceaux. The gum of the *Icica heptaphylla* (gommier l'encens) is also used for torches, while the gum of the courbaril (*Hymenea courbari*) might well be but is not so used. The size of the torches is largely a matter of taste, the average being about 4 feet long and the thickness of a man's leg. A good gum torch will burn continuously for some 10 to 12 hours, while a candlewood torch lasts only about 2 hours. Both give off a good deal of smoke, which has, however, a pleasant, highly fragrant smell. The candlewood gives, perhaps, the clearer flame.

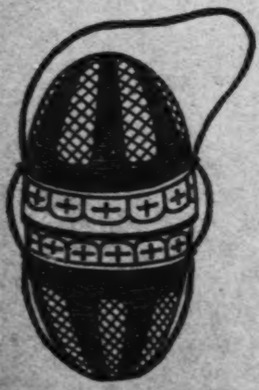


Figure 29.—Tinder box, engraved and colored with roucou.

The gum of the red lowland gommier (*Bursera gummifera*) is more liquid than the preceding and is used only as a plaster applied to cure contusions.

Beeswax is used principally for making into candles and is of two 237 distinct varieties. The common European honey bee, presumably

237 once imported but now found in a wild state, makes a typical comb (locally called "cassava") whose wax, at first yellow, becomes quite white on boiling and straining. Left to itself, it soon becomes hard. On the other hand, the native stingless bee (sometimes called "pou lélé"), small and dark of color, makes a sort of pouch about a foot long, interiorly divided into pockets, in lieu of comb. The wax is brown-black and remains perfectly malleable, however long it is kept. For this reason it is often used for molding figurines, etc. The honey itself is liquid, very slightly viscous, of a clear brown hue, and has a fragrant subacid taste (miel sûr).

314 Two kinds of oil are commonly made and used in the reserve today. Carapate oil, so-called, is nothing more than the oil of the palma Christi, castor oil, one or two of which shrubs grow near every house. The berries are gathered when ripe and stored until required in baskets or calabashes in the kitchen. When oil is wanted they are roasted, pounded in a mortar, and the resulting paste boiled, whereupon the oil rises to the surface and is skimmed off. The women make this [302] oil and use it for anointing their hair. The *Carapa guianensis*, from which oil used to be made, still grows in the woods of Dominica, but is used today only for its wood.

237 Shark oil, made by the men, is used in cruses for interior lighting. [372 Boiled together with copal gum and mixed with dry plaintain straw, it 501] serves in the calking of canoes.

Turtle oil is known to have been made and used for cooking, but owing to the present rarity of this animal and the laws made for its preservation is seldom met with today.

314 Coconut oil is occasionally made for sale but is never put to any domestic use in Carib households.

Manni (*Moronobea coccinea?*) is the name given to a blackish resinous substance used by the Caribs for strengthening the *Bromelia* twine with which they bind their baskets. I have seen lumps of it as big as a man's fist in the homes of basket makers. It is interesting to note that the tree from which this resin comes is not found in Dominica, nor, as far as I know, in the neighboring islands. The Caribs seek and gather their supply on the beach, where the ocean currents deposit it at certain times of the year, chiefly in February and March.

386 Pigments are singularly ignored nowadays. Roucou (*Bixa orellana*) still grows near many of the houses, but as the wearing of clothes has become general since the introduction of Christianity, its use as a skin protection against sun and insects has been forgotten. It is at present used occasionally as a decorative coloring matter in the home, but the present-day Caribs do not know of any fixative medium. Formerly it was used, mixed with oil of carapa, as a body paint, and the bright red pigment obtained by rubbing between the palms of the hands the ripe seeds contained in a half-opened pod.

The leaves of a tree known as bois tan (not *Byrsonima spicata*, also 386 called bois tan) give, when macerated in water, a mauve dye used for coloring the strands of a liana called mibi, for basket making.

Saffron is the local name of a shrub, the expressed juice of whose carrotlike fruit constitutes a yellow dye similarly employed.

Kwachi and Bois Cassave are the local names for two trees, the juice of whose fruits provides a black stain or ink, used sometimes on thread or cloth.

Though not properly coming under the heading of pigments, a kind of mud found at certain points along the river banks may be mentioned here, as it is used for staining the stems of the larouman, to which it imparts a very fine black. The stems are merely buried in the mud, and left there for 2 or 3 days. [415]

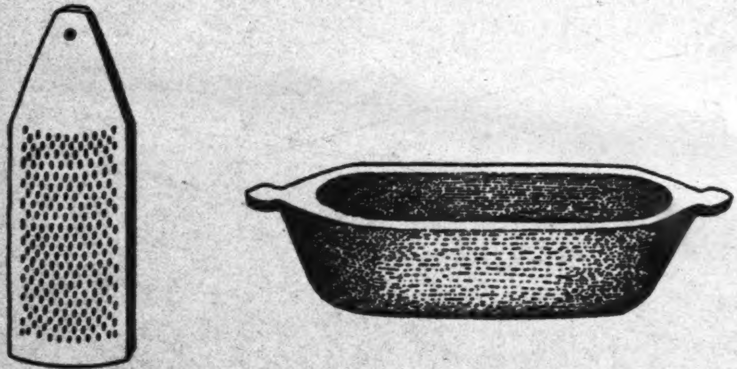


FIGURE 30.—Cassava grater and cassava canoe.

OTHER DOMESTIC REQUISITES AND THEIR USES

The Caribs' domestic utensils, apart from those which come under 415 the heading of basketry, consist of the following: Cassava grater, cassava canoe, platine, palette, pestle and mortar, boucan or barbecue, cane press, terrine, bouri and couï (kinds of calabash), lélé or swizzle stick. As many of these articles (all, with the exception of the platine) are home-made, and serve principally in the preparation of cassava, it will be as well to start by describing that process.

The tubers of the manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), of which there are 252 several varieties (see section on cultivation), are first scraped to re- 415 move the outer skin and then washed. Next they are grated on the "grage" or cassava grater into the "counou" or cassava canoe (fig. 30). The former is a board, some 3 feet long by 1 broad, into which sharp flints or nails have been driven. The latter is made from the wood of the gommier tree in the same manner and in almost the same shape as the real dugouts, except that the "counou" is neither

252 opened out nor bordered as is the "canot." At either end a small
415 handle is carved to facilitate manipulation. The cassava canoe is usually about 5 to 6 feet long by about 2 feet high and 18 inches across. When a sufficient quantity of manioc has been grated, the
252 pulp is pressed, in order to remove the poisonous juice, by one of three methods: (*a*) by applying weight or leverage to a matapi (see under basketry) filled with the wet grated manioc; (*b*) by squeezing through leverage a sack made for this purpose from latanier (*Thrinax* sp.) and filled with the grated manioc pulp; (*c*) by wringing out the moisture in a cloth. Thus dried, the grated, squeezed manioc is next passed through the hébichet, or sifter (q. v. under basketry), in order to remove lumps and to render it of an equal fineness. Meanwhile the manioc water, or juice wrung from the grated manioc, has had time to settle in the calabashes in which it was collected. The residue or starch, known here as "moussache," is removed, dried, and either mixed with the meal or set aside for separate use.

[354]

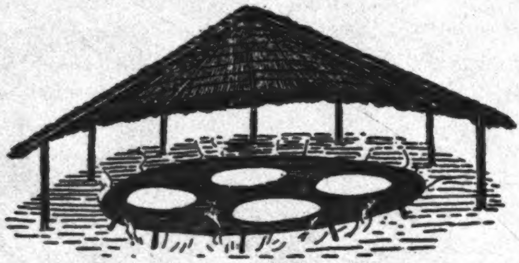


FIGURE 31.—Platine with cassava bread baking under shelter.

354 The dry sifted meal is now ready to be baked on the platine (fig. 31). This, in the old days a slab of stone or earthenware, is today a round sheet of iron, 6 to 10 feet in diameter, heated from beneath, and housed in a special circular shelter of thatch known as the "cale-platine." On it the meal is baked
252 either into cassavas or into farine. The former is a round flat pancake about three-quarters of an inch thick and 2 feet in diameter. While baking, the meal is patted into shape, flattened, and turned with the help of a miniature paddle (fig. 32), some 2 to 3 feet long, known as a palette. Farine (manioc flour) is likewise baked on the platine, but instead of its being pressed and shaped it is constantly stirred during the process. These two products (together with tannia, yams, edoes, plantain, etc.) constitute the staple food of the Dominica Caribs today.

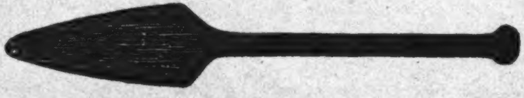


FIGURE 32.—Cassava palette.

Toumalin (the tamali of the Mexicans?) is still made by the older Caribs in the reserve. It is a brown pungent sauce with peculiar flavor and the consistency of thick gravy, made by the prolonged boiling of the manioc water from which the starch has been removed, and to which pimentos, onions, fish, or ciriques (land crabs sp.) have 252 been added. This sauce is used to moisten and season the otherwise insipid cassava bread. The noxious character of the manioc juice disappears in the boiling.

The unbaked manioc meal is sometimes sweetened with sugarcane juice, spiced, and then wrapped in plantain leaves, tied into little packages, and boiled to form a sort of dumpling known as "canqui."

Fond of liquor as the Caribs undoubtedly are, they no longer make 273 any native drink (unless it be illicit rum), nor have they done so, it seems, for a considerable time. There are those, however, who remember an old man who used to make a beverage from the glouglou palm and from that known to the Caribs as yattahou (*Acrocomia sclerocarpa*, and *Syagrus amaro* (?) respectively), but they were unable to tell me how it was made.

Pestle and mortar are indispensable utensils in any Carib home. 415 With them are ground coffee, cocoa, castor-oil nuts, and everything else that has to be reduced to powder or paste. The former is club-shaped and about 3½ feet long, the latter being in the form of a jar some 2½ feet in height and 10 inches across the mouth. Both are made of any hard heavy wood such as white cedar or "tan" (*Byrsonima* sp.). 417

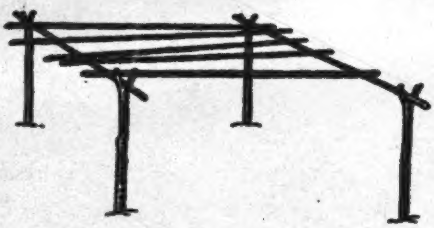


FIGURE 33.—Boucan or Carib barbecue.

Inside or outside of every Carib kitchen stands one or several 251 boucan (fig. 33) (whence "buccaneer"), ready for smoke drying an excess of fish or game, which, thus preserved, will keep anywhere from a month to a year. Sticks of guépois (*Myrcia leptoclada* D. G.) or of bois d'Inde (*Pimenta acris* Sw.) are most often used for this purpose, and are stuck in the ground so as to form an erection some 2½ feet high resembling two football goals about 4 feet apart, across which other sticks are laid to form a grid.

A primitive type of cane press, also common to Guiana, is to be 257 found outside nearly all the houses in the reserve (fig. 34). It consists of a thick post stuck in the ground. A cavity is hollowed out near the top, and a hole pierced, through which a lever passes. The cane, placed transversely across the mouth of the cavity, is crushed by the lever being brought down on successive sections, thus expressing the juice, which runs down grooves into a waiting receptacle. "Vesou" (sugarcane juice) is a cheap and ever-ready sweetening matter for coffee, cocoa, etc.

Despite its name, the terrine is a wooden bowl (rather like the 415 modern salad bowls), which was and sometimes still is used for wash-

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

415 ing or sweetening food, or even as an eating and drinking bowl. Rare.

The canari, of earthenware, and no longer made locally, is the name given to the "fait-tout" or "buck pot" of the Creoles. Other pots and pans, plates, and dishes, grow on trees in the calabash (*Crescentia cujete*, various species). They are of all shapes and sizes, but may be classed in three main groups according to the use for which they are destined. The largest, with a hole pierced in the top, is used for carrying water. Others, cut in half, are used for pans and dishes, or for drinking cups (couïs), according to size. Still others are made into containers of varying shapes, and sometimes decorated.

[257]

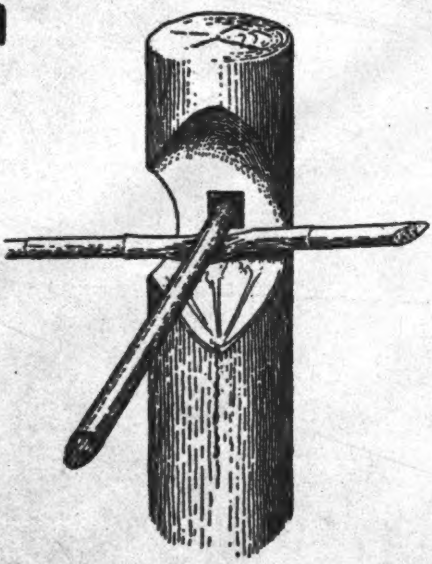


FIGURE 34.—Cane press.

The lélé is a long, thin, natural swizzle stick, cut from the branch of a small tree (*Ximenia americana*?) at the junction of a number of twigs. The wood is of light yellow color and has a spicy, curry-like smell. Contrary to popular opinion, the bâtón lélé or swizzle stick is used mainly in the West Indies, not for making punches (the native takes his rum straight), but for preparing chocolate, calalou (a sort of gumbo soup) and other dishes of local repute.

CANOES

501 Probably the most typical product of the Island Carib is, and always has been, the dugout canoe. The word itself—as the French "canot," which term designates, in local patois, the dugout—is derived through Spanish from the Carib "kanaua," which was their name for the large variety of dugout or war canoe. The Carib name for the smaller craft seems to have been, in the men's language, "ukuni," in the women's, "kuriàla," whence our word, corial. The Spanish called the smaller craft "piragua," whence French and English "pirogue," a term now applied to big, barge-like, open vessels and to large canoes used for coastwise transport of cargo. That there is or has been confusion of terms is obvious; Father Labat

refers to the smaller boat as pirogue, and tells us that the Caribs called 501
the larger one "bacassa." He says:

> The pirogue measured 29 feet in length by 4 feet 6 inches in breadth in its middle. Both ends were pointed and higher than the middle by about 15 to 20 inches. It was divided by nine benches, behind each of which—at about 8 inches distant from and higher than the seat—was a stick the size of an arm, whose ends stuck into the sides of the pirogue, and which served to support and keep open the sides of the craft as also for the paddlers to lean against.

He goes on to say:

> The bacassa was 42 feet long and almost 7 feet wide in the middle. The forward end was raised and pointed in a similar manner to the pirogue, but its after end was flat and shaped like a poop. It had benches like the pirogue. Both craft were built of red cedar (*Cedrela odorata*). The sides of the bacassa had been raised about 15 inches by the addition of boards of the same wood, split with an axe and not sawn. Neither boat had a rudder, steering was accomplished with the aid of a paddle a good third bigger than those serving to row or, as they say in the islands, "swim" the boat. The Caribs' pirogues have usually two masts and two square sails, the bacassa, three masts.

This extract—obviously an accurate and painstaking description of the Carib craft of his day—is interesting for the sake of comparison. The dugout canoes made by the Caribs of Dominica today, though of a general resemblance, differ in several respects from those just mentioned. To begin with, they usually are much smaller (especially when we consider that the Parisian foot was almost an inch longer than ours). Those made today range from 16 to 30 feet in length, but one of 21 feet is considered a good-sized canoe. The proportions remain sensibly the same. Then again, Labat does not speak of the smaller vessel's sides being raised by boards, which they now invariably are. Red cedar, or acajou (*Cedrela odorata*), though still fairly common in the woods, is no longer used for canoe building, its place being taken by the gommier tree (*Dacryodes hexandra*). Nevertheless, much remains that is unchanged and traditional in the making and shaping of the Carib canoes.

Having found a suitable tree—that is to say, one of sufficient 396
symmetry, proportions, and perfection—the Carib proceeds to fell it unaided, an operation which usually takes him from dawn until sunset. If in a hurry for the boat, he will build himself a karbé on the spot, and subsist on whatever wild foods the forest may provide until the canoe is ready for hauling. More often, however, he will leave the felled tree for days, and return home to attend to other matters. In the latter case he takes the precaution of felling his tree only at the new moon; for were he to do so at any other time grubs would soon take possession and the wood become spoiled by borers. The tree is next shaped and dug out or, to use the patois term, "fouillé," first with an ax, then with a hand adze. Supposing our Carib stays on the job all and every day, it will now take him anything from 4 days to 2 weeks—depending on the size of the canoe and

the diligence of its maker—until he is ready for "hauling." This takes 10 to 12 men, and is usually paid for—like all work the Caribs do to help one another—by a liberal provision of rum. Cords of maho or of natural liana are attached to the canoe through eyelets pierced in its prow, and the boat literally hauled, to the rhythm of chanties reserved for these occasions, through dense bush and by rough forest tracks, up and over an incredibly steep ridge and down to the home of the new craft's master, where it is installed in the shade of some nearby tree to be finished and bordered.

Although the heaviest of the work is now done, the canoe is as yet only half made. Work goes on with the hand adze until the sides are of the requisite even thickness and the prow properly shaped and smoothed. Supposing the canoe to have a total length of 24 feet, its greatest width in the middle, at this stage, will not be more than 18 or 20 inches. Before it can be serviceable the canoe must be opened. This is done by half filling the interior with stones and water, and leaving them thus until the wood has begun to warp. Fires are then lit on either side and a few feet distant. The canoe opens up under the influence of the heat like a flower in the sun. While this process is going on, a number of cross sticks, known as "totes" (Carib, "totaka," to support) are introduced to aid the process and keep the sides open. When a width of 3 feet to 3 feet 6 inches has been attained amidships (the two ends having been previously tied securely to prevent splitting) the fires are extinguished. Five or six knees, or "courbes," of white cedar or other pliable wood are now hewn and bent into shape and fixed in place at intervals across the bottom of the boat in order to strengthen it. The canoe is now ready to have its sides raised by the addition of two boards or planks of the same wood as the boat, i. e., gommier. These are hewn in such a way (not sawn) as to compensate for the loss of depth amidships due to the opening up; and have a width varying from about 9 inches at the forward end by 15 or more in the middle to about 8 inches aft. Thin strips of wood, known as "taquets," are fixed between the knees; but whereas the latter reach only to the mouth of the dugout proper, the former come up to join the gunwale, which encircles the upper edge of the raised sides, or bordage. The number of seats, of permanent cross beams, or totes, will depend on the size of the canoe and the use for which it is destined. In Labat's day manpower—for speed and strength in warfare—was the most important factor; today, convenience for fishing or for carrying loads is the first consideration. Two benches and three totes (two of the latter being pierced to take masts) would be usual in a canoe of the size (24 feet) we are considering. As Father Labat goes on to say, the Caribs' canoes have, as a rule, two masts (bois côte, *Tapura guianensis*, or bois violon, *Guatteria* sp., being the best woods for this purpose), and two square lugsails, traversed diagonally by yards. The 396 local names for various parts of the boat and rigging are given in the diagram (fig. 35). Curious is the forward part of the finished canoe: the prow, called noeud (knot), forming a separate piece shaped out of white cedar (*Tacoma leucoxylon*), and the stem, or pince, with its forward cant. The noeud is fitted into the front of the canoe proper, with which it forms an angle, and to it are attached the sides and gunwale. The canoe is calked along the jointure of the sideboards (and if and where there are any defects) with cotton lint or plantain straw soaked in a mixture of shark oil and powdered gum boiled together.

As will readily be seen from the above, such a canoe is, at the very least, 3 weeks in the making. Besides a good deal of labor, it has cost [50]

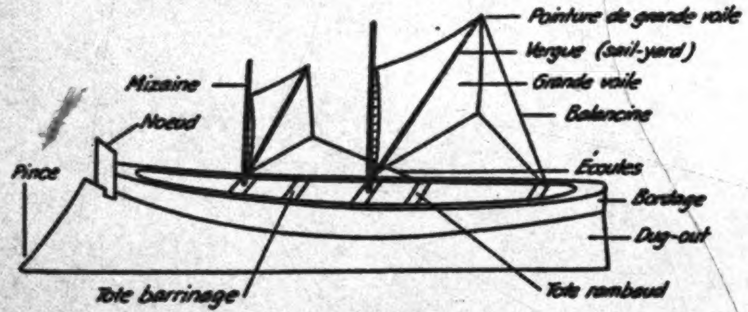


FIGURE 35.—Carib canoe with raised sides, masts, and sails.

its owner the price of the rum for the hauling. It is all the more significant of the Carib's character that he will often, when pressed for cash, sell his craft for as little as $3.

Although the Caribs have, to some extent, adopted our oars—just as we sometimes use paddles—the latter are still common for steering and, under certain circumstances, for propelling their dugouts. It is undeniable that the decreased necessity for speed and strength in the shape of manpower has diminished the importance of paddles and, consequently, the skill employed in their making. The best woods known and used in Dominica for this purpose are bois caïmite (*Chrysophyllum glabrum*) and quina (*Exostemma caribbaeum*). The size and shape of the modern paddles is much the same as those of the old days (about 5 feet long, of which the blade occupies a quarter to a third), but there is no ornamentation in the shape of grooves or lines of any sort at the present time.

FISHING

Having forgotten the use of bows and arrows, it is natural that 226 river and sea food should form the most important food adjunct of the present-day Caribs in Dominica. Owing to the roughness of the

226 ocean on the windward side of the island, and to the Caribs' primitive methods of capture, fish are rarely caught in sufficient quantities for commercial sale, but when plentiful—as during the flying-fish season—the fish are dried on the boucan or barbecue, and, thus preserved, are stored for periods of greater scarcity.

The localities where fishing is carried out may be divided as follows: river, on or off the rocks, inshore, offshore, or in the canal. Nets are neither made nor used in the reserve, line (home-made of *Bromelia karatas*) and hook (purchased) fishing from dugout Carib canoes being by far the commonest technique used today. Fishermen usually go out in groups of three. Except for all-night fishing in the canal (between the islands) or rod fishing off the rocks (also at night), they go out soon after sunrise, to return around 4 in the afternoon. The owner (and usually maker) of the canoe also provides the tackle, and for his service is assured of an extra lot of fish; so that if he is not himself a fisherman, as is often the case, the day's catch is shared equally among the actual fisherman plus the owner; it being understood that should the owner fish himself, he receives two shares for their one. When more fish is caught than is actually needed the extra is more often given away than sold.

Fish caught in the open canal are: flying fish, tunny, dorado, king fish, shark, "vareu," and "mè." Except for flying fish, which are caught above water in a specially made receptacle called kali (see under Basketry), these are all caught with hook and line—the larger specimens with the help of a harpoon or a spear (vare).

Inshore, but still with hook and line from a dugout: pirame, couvally (carangue), "vivanneau," "vieille," "bourse," "oreilles noires" (species of red snapper), "vive"; and, with a casting net or "épervier" of fine mesh weighted at the corners and drawn through an ox's horn, "sardines," "pisquet," "cailles."

From the rocks, with rod and line and usually at night: "tancho," "cirusien," "cibouli," "valioua," "lipi."

Lobsters are caught by diving. Turtles are seldom sought, but must be taken with a special pot known as "fol."

The rocks themselves offer a source of food in the shape of sea eggs or urchins (patois, chadrons), octopus (chatou), various sea crabs, "chaloupes" (Carib: màburi) and "bugaus"—two species of shellfish. A sort of seaweed similar to the "carrageen moss" of the west of Ireland is occasionally gathered and eaten and is likewise reputed to be good for lung trouble.

At certain times of the year a delicious and diminutive fry of clear gray color, known as "titiri," is taken in sheets at the river mouths. They are thought to be the young of the fish locally called coulirou and balaou, which, though very common to leeward, are not taken by the Caribs, as their capture requires the use of nets.

The most common river fish are popularly known as mullet, pike, 226 "flathead" (têtard, Carib: makúba), "cocos," "loches." To these must be added two varieties of fresh-water crayfish (Carib: wàçu, and smaller, içulu), prawns ("bouques"), and shrimps (chevrettes). A kind of river periwinkle, called vignot, is also eaten. Methods of capture vary a good deal: flatheads, prawns, shrimps, and sometimes small crayfish are "felt for" under rocks and banks; cocos are caught with hook and prawn for bait, or with the épervier at the river mouth. A special and rather curious method of catching crayfish is sometimes practiced: a length of caapi (species of ivy) is passed through a bit of raw manioc which is then hung in the water, the other end of the caapi being attached to a rock or stone on the bank. Returning some hours later, usually after dark, the fisherman finds a quantity of stupefied crayfish collected around the manioc, whose poisonous juice has rendered them incapable of flight. Loche, pike, and mullet may be caught with hook and worm, or in a special trap known as bachoua, now becoming extremely rare. A more usual method, however, is by poisoning the river.

Two fish poisons are known and used commonly by the Caribs of 226 Dominica today: the leaves of the shrub *Phyllanthus conami* (usually 278 called "énivrage") and the applelike fruit of a small to medium sized tree called bàbarra or bambarra (*Diospyros* sp., *Piscidia erythrina* L.). The latter is more powerful, but may be used only in fresh water, whereas the leaves of the conami are sometimes employed to poison small creeks and pools along the seashore. Each member of the party (women for the most part) arrives at the river with a load of conami leaves. These are then pounded and thrown in the river. As soon as the fish begin to jump out of the water to escape the effects of the poison the Caribs dive in and seize them. The bàbarra apples are also crushed, but are enclosed in a basket which is immersed only for the time being, as it would poison the water for almost a week were it left there.

A third variety of fish poison, used by some, is the bark of the tree known in Dominica as bois savonette (soap tree), bois cicérou, or bois pipiri. It is a large tree with small, diamond-shaped leaves which froth when rubbed in water, and bears a pod about 6 inches long containing three smooth red seeds the size of a pea. Possibly a species of *Lonchocarpus*. Not to be confused with the soap bush called Malvinia or Sang Dragon. All catalogs of West Indian flora are very confused and contradictory.

CULTIVATION

The Caribs' main food supply comes from individual family gardens 241 or provision grounds, made by burning the forest (usually secondary growth) and sowing or planting in the ashes between the burned tree

241 stumps. Partly as a protection against the depredations of domestic
[531] animals (hens, pigs, goats, cows) and partly because, under primitive
methods of culture, the ground becomes exhausted and a new garden
must be made every 2 or 3 years, the provision grounds are for the
[361] most part situated beyond the coastal hill crest on the slopes of the
Pegoua Valley, some miles distant from the homes of their owners. Practically the only implements of culture used today are the cutlass (machete) and the digging stick—a strong, sharp-pointed stick popularly known as "lochette" (Carib: koyéré).

241 Manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) still forms the principal crop, although
824 its importance as a staple diet has diminished in the last half century. Several varieties are known and distinguished by the following local appellations: manioc noir (the commonest), m. blanc, m. violet, m. bleu, m. beurre, m. 100 livres, m. doux, camanioc. The last two are nonpoisonous and may be eaten as vegetables. Manioc is planted by cuttings—usually by groups of three to one pit—and takes from 1 year to 18 months to reach maturity. The process of farine and cassava making is described elsewhere.

Next to manioc, the most important tubers cultivated are: chou (*Xantosoma saggitifolium* Sch., malanga, tannia, taya) of various species, varieties of yam (*Dioscorea alata*, *pilosiuscula*, *multiflora*, *Cayennensis*, *trifida*, *tuberosa*—blanc and de l'eau, bâtard, marron, à piquants noirs, couch-couche, yam bonda, etc.), of sweet potato (red, yellow, white), of *Maranta* (red, white), *Solanum*, and *Cipura*. Squash and Indian corn are also grown, but do not form a staple food, as with the Indians of central and southern North America. The latter is never ground into flour, but is roasted and eaten whole, rather after the manner of a delicacy or sweetmeat. Bananas, plantains, and breadfruit (*Artocarpus*) of the ordinary and of the "chestnut" (*seminifera*) varieties are grown and eaten extensively. Various fruit trees and other utilitarian trees and bushes are cultivated around and near the houses. Such are: cotton,[1] coffee, cocoa, palma Christi or castor-oil plant, roucou (*Bixa orellana*), calabash (*Crescentia cujete*), guava, mango, sugarcane, papaya, various species of *anona* (*muricata*, *reticulata*, *squamosa*—corossol, cachiman, pomme canelle, etc.), and la pitte or silk grass (*Bromelia* sp.) for the making of twine and fishing lines, *Phyllanthus conami* or "nivrage" for fish poisoning, Malvinia or "soap bush," sapodilla, and pineapples (of which several small species grow wild in the woods).

241 The clearing of the land is done by the men, the rest of the work (planting, weeding, digging, and gathering) being divided among both sexes largely according to individual taste or family arrangement.

---

[1] Two varieties—so-called black and white, according to leaf-stem color. The former is esteemed better.

THE HIGH WOODS

The Caribs' intelligence is in their hands and feet. I suspect their 314 own word for incompetent, mabuku, to mean "without feet"; and, just as the typical Frenchman's ability is best described by that untranslatable word, "débrouillard," so the characteristic virtue of the Carib may be summed up in the word "mainoeuvre." The true Carib is neither a hard nor a quick worker, but he is always able to maneuver his way out of a difficult situation in order to accomplish what he is after. "Where there's a will, there's a way" is a motto which suits him well, and nowhere does he show this better than on the high sea and in the high woods.

The high woods (in patois: les grands bois) are those tracts of virgin forest that still cover much of the island's mountainous interior. They lie, as a rule, well over 500 feet above sea level, and it is in them that the gigantic gommiers, chataigniers (*Sloanea*), cedars, rosewood, and other forest kings reach their full majesty. Here the Caribs come [313] to saw wood for posts, boards, and shingles; to fell and hew the gommier for their canoes; to cut larouman for their basketry; to hunt the [224] agouti, the wild pig, the wood pigeon, and the parrot; to search for wawa (*Rajania cordata* L.), berries, and wild honey; to fish the streams with bait, trap, and poison for mullet, crayfish, and other varieties.

The young shoot or cabbage of the mountain palmiste (*Euterpe montana*) provides a pleasant and wholesome salad. It is true the [262] tree must be felled in order to obtain this, but, when this is done at full moon, the bole becomes the refuge of a species of beetle, the *Calandra palmarum*, whose fat white grub constitutes a culinary delicacy much appreciated locally under the name of ver palmiste. This is the reverse of the process employed in cutting trees for dugouts. These are felled at the new moon in order to prevent the incursion of borer worms and grubs. Certain plants and trees, such as the male papaya, are cut down at certain phases of the moon in order to make them spring up again as female, that is, as fruit-bearing trees. Wild pineapples, sapodillas (*Anacardium occidentale*) are to be found in the woods, as also the fruits of the balate and balata trees (*Oxythece hahnianum* and *Mimusops riedleana*), of the bois cote (*Tapura guianensis*), courbaril (*Hymenaea courbaril*), and icacque (*Hirtella* sp.).

Wild honey of two sorts is to be found: that known as "sûr" (sour) from the small native stingless bee, or "pou lélé," which produces the black wax already mentioned, and the "gros miel" from the (probably imported) ordinary bee in a wild state. The Caribs are fond of eating the white grub or larvae (in patois: cousins) of both varieties—usually together with the honey, raw.

Water may be obtained on the heights from the corde de l'eau (*Pinzona*), a species of stout liana which releases, when cut, a pint or so of 271 cool, refreshing sap.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

224 Ciriques, a yellow-and-black species of land crab common in and around the reserve, make a very palatable dish. The green sperm of [263] the male cirique is one of the ingredients of the typical Carib sauce, toumalin or tumali. They are usually caught at night with the aid of flambeaux. The Caribs sometimes obtain salt from the roasted and ground-up shells of these crustaceans by maceration and subsequent evaporation. Another and odd species of land crab, abounding in the woods and sometimes eaten by the Caribs, is the so-called soldier crab. When small, he finds and takes possession of a vignot, or river periwinkle's shell, exchanging this when he grows larger for that of a bugau (a snail-like sea shellfish), and that again, perhaps, for a lambi or conque shell. Scuttling along among the leaves, a seashell on their backs, their one claw sticking out behind and their two hairy horns in front, these "soldiers" present a truly comical appearance. Like the black crab of the leeward coast, the soldier is a great traveler, and at certain seasons battalions of them are to be seen on the march, going down to or up from the sea.

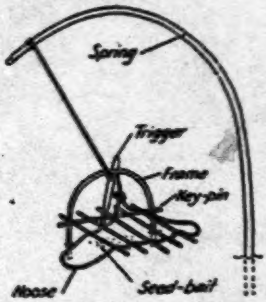


FIGURE 36.—Spring snare for game birds.

Iguana lizards are not uncommon in some parts of the woods. They have a delicate flesh whose taste resembles that of chicken. They are

[223]

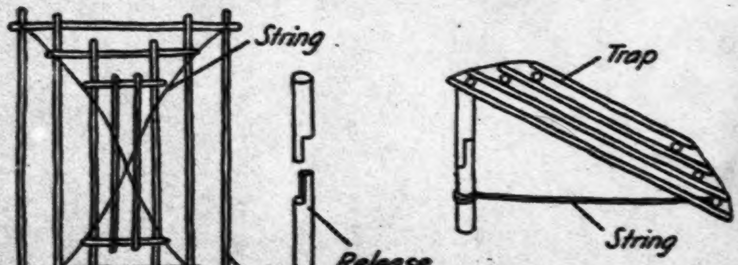


FIGURE 37.—Fall trap.

found on the branches of trees, hypnotized by whistling, and caught with a running noose tied to the end of a rod.

223 Two kinds of spring snares are made and used for catching birds: one for such small pilferers as sucriers, moissons, gros becs; another (fig. 36) for the succulent game birds known as perdrix or mountain dove, and tourterelle. A simple basketlike fall trap (fig. 37) is also used, as also birdlime, or rod and noose. The old Caribs are said to have caught

parrots alive by stupefying them in their roosts with the smoke of green 223 peppers placed together with burning charcoal in a calabash raised on the end of a long bamboo rod.

Birds are sometimes enticed to the snares by an imitation of their call or by a live captive of their own species used as a decoy.

There is no particular interest attaching to the local methods of 224 hunting wild pig, agouti, and manicou. The latter (the West Indian opossum) is often caught by hand; whereas the Caribs, without bows or guns, rely upon their dogs both to find and kill agouti and pig.

Legend and Tradition

The present-day Caribs have not the long memories of the Scottish 773 Highlanders. Anything that happened a long time ago took place, for them, in the reign of one P'tit François. Little François seems to have been, in spite of his name, a very big chief. One would be inclined to regard him as an almost legendary figure were it not that, from all accounts, Jolly John, the present chief, is only his sixth successor. Here is the list:

1. P'tit François.
2. Wakanik (also called Popote).
3. Joseph (mentioned by Ober as alive in 1877).
4. Brunie (whose son, Fanfan, is now about 75).
5. Auguste.
6. Coriette.
7. Jolly John.

Joseph and his sister, Ma' Augustin, noted for having spoken little else but Carib, are said to have been the younger brother and sister of P'tit François. As both of them died within the memory of old people still living, P'tit François himself cannot possibly take us much farther back than the middle of the last century. Fanfan says he was "a big little boy" at the time of Joseph's death. Supposing Joseph and his predecessor, Wakanik, to have reigned 30 years between them (a generous allowance), this would place P'tit François' death at about 1845.

P'tit François is said to have been, among other things, a "manitise" (magnétiseur), which I understand to mean a sort of spiritualistic medium. Before holding communication with the spirits he would request his client to place a full unopened bottle of rum upon the table for the use of the ethereal visitors, whose thirsty "glou-glou-glou" might thereafter be heard distinctly and taken as a sure sign of their arrival and readiness to cooperate. Strange to relate, after the spirits' departure, the bottle was always found as full and intact as ever.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

773 When the people were troubled by the depredations of rats, P'tit François would invoke their king, and demand—it is said with success—that His Ratty Majesty keep his subjects in order.

A fragment of what I believe to be a very old legend was recounted to me by Fanfan as something that actually happened in the days of this wonderful chief.

> At that time there lived in Salybia two brothers called Màruka and Cimanàri, famous for the charms they made. They would go up to the house of the Tête-Chien[1] to find the Master Tête-Chien—the same who, when the earth was soft, made the Stairway of the Tête-Chien at Cinéku.[2] He is big, big, big, has a crest of diamond on his head, and crows just like a cock. Well, when they found him, they would take powdered tobacco and burn it before him on the blade of a paddle. Then that tête-chien would vomit, and all that he vomited was red "l'envers caraïbe".[3] After that the snake would disappear gradually, and in his place came a young man "sans culotte" (naked). The young man said nothing about his being the Tête-Chien, but asked Màruka and Cimanàri what it was they wanted, and instructed them, when they had told him, how they must use the envers caraïbe to make their charms.
>
> Màruka and Cimanàri did not die in Salybia. When they felt old age approaching they went away to the other country. When they reached the shores of the Orinoco River they plunged into the stream, and when they came out on the opposite bank they had become two young lads again, and on the water where they had been there floated two turtle shells.
>
> They never came back to Dominica, and at last one of them died; but the other, as far as I know, is still living there.

778 [131] Leaving the Stairway of the Tête-Chien, and going northward by way of the Maho, Gaulette, Salybia, and Crayfish Rivers almost to the present northern boundary of the Reserve, we come to the little hamlet of Bataka (or Baraïçi), nestling on the hillside 15 minutes hard climb above the "highway." Most of the full-blooded Caribs remaining are to be found here today. The people of Bataka are not very well liked by the other Caribs, among whom they have a name for treachery and for practicing "pials," even against one another.

On the extremity of a narrow ridge opposite and beyond Bataka is perched a huge rock, itself some 60 feet in height, that overlooks the valley of the Pegoua, the ocean, and the Reserve. It is composed of a blackish, crumbling rock, and on its summit and from its precipitous sides grow vines and plants, a stunted scrub, and a kind of wild orchid. It is known as La Roche Pegoua, and is the home of a benevolent spirit about whom many tales are told, one of which is related below.

---

[1] Tête-Chien: "dog-headed" Antillean constrictor, small boa attaining up to 12 feet in length and the thickness of a man's thigh. Carib: wa-ma-pal.

[2] House of Tête-Chien; so-called. Rocky cliff in the heights of the Couanary River, said to be much frequented by these snakes. Legendary home of the giant snake of this and other legends, said to have had a precious stone (variously called carbuncle, diamond) of extraordinary brilliance on its head, and which it was capable of covering with a sort of movable membrane, or eyelid, thus creating at will light or darkness in the forest. The Stairway of the Tête-Chien, so-called, is a formation of soft gritty or rotten rock of reddish color and apparently volcanic origin, which emerges from the soil on the crest of the ridge called Cinéku, above the Akayu River, and proceeds in a series of "steps" down the side of the cliff to the sea, under which it continues and can be followed from a boat for quite a distance.

[3] L'envers caraïbe: a species of red maranta whose roots are said to "pials," and which is used only for charms. When planting, it is usual to place a piece of silver in the ground along with it. Has become rare.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

The people of Bataka used to go up to the Pegoua Rock in search of charms. There are steps leading to the base of the rock, and, on its top, a crack that goes through to the inside. That is where the zombie lives, but if ever you see him it means some one is going to die soon. On the top of the rock there grow all manner of charms, but in particular you may sometimes find there a white flower (suette de montagne?) with so sweet a smell that people passing on the highway at the foot of the cliff may easily perceive it. When it is flowering a new blossom comes every hour of the day and every hour another fades and falls. If you are lucky enough to get one of these flowers you may command with it whom you will. You have only to rub it on the palm of your hand, then raise the hand in the direction of a person and speak his name. However far away he may be he will have to obey and come to you. If you go in quest of the flower it is wise to take a white cock, or at least some powdered tobacco, as a gift to the spirit of the rock. 778 825

There was one old woman of Bataka whose husband treated her badly and 773 neglected her to run after other women. One day when he was gone fishing she made a lot, a big lot, of cassava bread; and, taking her children with her, went up to the Pegoua Rock, where she was lucky enough to get one of these flowers. With it she went down to the river to bathe, and when she had bathed she rubbed the flower all over her body and flung the remnants to the winds, saying: "Go join your master", which they did, disappearing in that same instant. After this, she and her children took the highway, and went quickly in the direction of Toulamon, now called Londonderry. Soon after they had passed the Cachibona River she heard her husband coming after her with the fish (presumably as a peace offering), but taking her children by the hand she ran and ran until they reached the old Caserne Caraïbe (literally, Carib Barracks, but perhaps a mistake for "caverne", a deep cave on the shore between the village of Wesley, or La Soie, and the Londonderry Estate, showing signs of human occupancy, or at least, frequentation). Here she knocked and was admitted just as her husband caught up and made a grab at her. Once safely inside, she shouted to him to go away, as she needed him no longer. There was nothing else for him to do; but as he turned to go he was changed into a bird with yellow beak and claws, called Pierrot Vanter, whose shrill persistent call you will often hear even today. The woman is still inside the cave, together with all the other old Caribs. They will not leave it until the end of the world, though it is said they sometimes come out at night to use their boat (an islet about a hundred yards off shore), for one night I passed there myself as I was going fishing, and when I returned the same way some 2 hours later it had disappeared.

I was told that for the last 20 years at least nobody had attempted 778 to scale the rock, as the white cedar which had grown nearby and [illegible] helped in the ascent had long since been felled by a windstorm. However, Carib ingenuity and agility overcame all difficulties. A slender sapling whose stem rose some 8 feet distant from the sides of the rock served as prop for a crooked stick, hewn and tied in place from materials growing on the spot, whose other end was made to rest on a narrow projecting ledge opposite and above. This precarious bridge once passed, the summit was reached by holding onto handfuls of plant and vine, or onto knobs of crumbling rock. Alas, I did not find the flower. It may be that it was the wrong season, but, in any case, I certainly should not have been so stupid as to forget that white cock.

LANGUAGE AND VOCABULARY

191 The last Caribs in Dominica to speak the native Indian idiom as their mother tongue died some 20 to 25 years ago. But even 60 years ago, at the time of Ober's first visit, the language was employed only by a small minority of older men and women. The urge for economic contacts with the Creole-negro population surrounding them combined, in all probability, with the priests' disapproval of continued isolation of a flock whose conversion was henceforth secure, ended in the adoption of that lingua franca of the West Indies, Creole patois. Those Caribs who today remember some smattering of their fathers' and mothers' tongue regard such knowledge rather in the light of a joke.

[198] Whether the proverbial distinction between the men's and the women's languages persisted to the end is hard to say, but it is certain that some of the words given below belong to the Carib, and others—the majority—to the Arawak stock of languages. Creole patois itself is rich in the debris of many tongues and it is to be hoped that some philologist will soon undertake its excavation.

192 115 The following vocabulary is neither exhaustive of living linguistic vestiges nor is the whole of it necessarily known to any one person now living in the Reserve. My chief informants were: Jimmy (Dordor) Benjamin of Bataka and his brother, Jean Noël (now dead), "Fanfan" and Ma' Bernard of St. Cyr, Lucien of Waiçima, Ma' Henri and her sister Ma' Jannoy of Bataka, and Choline and Chief Jolly John of Ste. Marie, Salybia. The latter furnished me with the song and some of the words, but was especially helpful in acting as my host, guide, and sponsor in the Reserve.

126 192 The words have been put down as they were given me—in their final form only after hearing them repeated many times by different people. Other vocabularies (in particular that of Father Raymond Breton, published 1665) have been consulted only as a check to word meaning and form. The spelling, as with all unwritten idioms, has been rather a problem. Breton wrote Carib like French, bu tat the best, and apart from the fact that French pronunciation has changed since his time, such a method is clumsy. I very much regret not having had a recording apparatus, but have done my best with the means at my disposal. In general, and taking the following modifications into account, the vowels have been given their Latin values, while the consonants are as in English. Stress is denoted by the apostrophe, as in supplemen'tary.

a, as in father; ao, as in how; ão, as in Portuguese "cão".
ĕ, as indefinite vowel sound in mother; becomes nasal when final.
ã, as "an" in French; ă, as in cat.
e, as in wet; ẽ, as em (final) in Portuguese.
ü, as in French, une.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

126
192

ï, as in machine; ĩ, as in the Portuguese word "fim".
u, as in French "poule"; ũ, as "um" in Portuguese.
o, as in not in closed, as (Spanish) no in open syllables.
ö, as "eu" in French.
au, eu, ae (but not ai, ay) are disyllabic. Ai, ay, as in fly.
ç, always soft, is intermediate between the s sound in seen and sheen, as in the name of the god Siva; ch as in machine.
hw, more strongly aspirated than English wh; n and r also aspirated when followed by h; whereas gh and kh are soft though distinct gutturals.
p, k, and t often become confused with b, g, and d, as do l with r, ç with ch, long o with u.
ph represents a more explosive sound than that of English f, with something like the trace of a p.
ui, ue, ua (except where there is a stress division, as in u'a) are the same sounds as wi, we, wa, and are pronounced as in wit, wet, wax, etc.

Alternative versions of the Carib are given in brackets.

Where the English equivalent for a Carib word is unknown its patois equivalent is given in parentheses.

192

(C) denotes a word still in local patois usage.
(M) denotes a word of the men's language.
(F) denotes a word of the women's language.

ya'wahu, ya'wa —bush god or spirit.
ma'pheiya —devil.
kariphu'nö —carib.
mé'kera —negro.
ka'buru —negro-indian mestizo (from Span. cabra?).
anlöli'rai —white (Englishman: from Span. Ingles).
hue'yu, (hui'yu) —sun (M).
ka'çi —sun (F).
nu'nö —moon.
hi'(r?)umö —star.
waruku'nö —star.
wa'tu —fire.
tu'nö —water.
hu'ya —rain (F).
kuno'bu —rain (M).
baru'na —sea, ocean.
kuru'bali —breeze (the trade wind).
hwai'yu kuru' —storm.

The so-called inseparable pronominal prefixes are, for the men's and for the women's languages respectively:

n-, and i- —my; w-, or k-—our.
b-(p), and a- —thy; hui- —your.
l- —his
t- —her; nh- —their. Thus:
nuhu'ali —my husband (lit. head, leader).
nie'ni —my wife.
iba'mui (M) —my (man speaking) sister's husband.
buku'çili (F) —thy father.
buku'yuru (F) —thy mother.
pi'bu ha'nö —thy elder brother.
liuchi'nauru —his father-in-law.

M2 Imani(a)i'	—his mother-in-law.
summiyé', (subuiyé', (subibuiyé') (?)	—my "cumbosse" (relationship of two people who have had connection with the same man or woman).
hyi'haru (F)	—woman.
na'tari	—sweetheart.
nha'phtaha'	(?).
no'kobu	—my body.
na'nigi (F)	—my heart.
ba'ku	—thy eyes.
nidi'buri	—my hair.
ni'giri	—my nose.
niu'ma	—my mouth.
warikae	—our ears.
turakae	—her belly.
laka'bo (luku'bo)	—his hand.
pu'guti	—thy foot.
ligi'bu	—his face.
nu'ruku	—my genitalia (female).
bré'ke (bud'ke)	—thy glans penis.
alu'kui	—genitalia (male).
pe'te-roku'	—thy anus.
way'ku (C)	—loin cloth.
mud'ná (mui'nâ) (C)	—permanent shelter, the "koubouya" of (Cayenne).
akae	—pot.
ku'muri (ku'meri)	—calabash for carrying water (patois: 'bouri').
tu'ba	—half calabash for cooking.
ba'té kuiâ'	—half calabash for drinking, etc. ("coui").
paga'ra	—Carib toilet basket.
kataori	—Carib shoulder carry-all.
te'la	—Carib kitchen basket.
epu'baruté'	—knife, cutlass.
ifi'baru	—fishing line.
u'kuni (M)	—dugout canoe.
kuria'la (F)	—dugout canoe.
matutu'	—Carib table.
matapi'	—cassava squeezer; "couleuvre."
mó'rowa	—kind of clay or soft rock: "tuff."
mana'ba	—honey.
nu'ni	—victuals.
nâ'hi	—eating.
kâ'hi	—"sanqui": grated manioc, sweetened and boiled.
bam-bam	—cassava bread.
ba'lyé	—arrowroot.
baku'ku	—"fig" banana.
bari'ru	—banana.
kala'buli (C)	—kind of liana used in thatching.
kwai, (kwaik)	—"tannia", variety (*Colocasia esculenta*).
kawá'i (F)	—manioc, variety (*Manihot utilissima*).
ki'ere (M)	—manioc, variety (*Manihot* sp.).
kapia'o (C)	—var. yam (*Dioscorea* sp.).
kumé	—var. of "tannia" or "chou caraibe."
mâ'bi	—red variety sweet potato (*Batata* sp.).
pi'kâ	—yam, variety (*Dioscorea* sp.).

wai'bukuré (wai'burukú) —water yam (*Dioscorea* sp.).
wawi'amó —squash.
yuri —tobacco.
yal'la(gh)u (C) —kind of palm (*Syagrus amara?*).
yaya (C) —fine, hair-like prickles on cane, etc.
tawâ'l (C) —kind of tree (? see word for manioc).
hwéhwé —tree (generic).

The following, given to me as Carib, are obvious corruptions and [177] show how Carib absorbed foreign words:

ga'ubéru'—cauldron (French, chaudière).
pula'tu —dishes (French, plate).
bakagu' —cow, ox (Spanish, vaca).
kabayu' —horse (Spanish, caballo).

On the other hand, many words of current Creole patois appear to be of native origin. Such are (French orthography) canari, cali, cabouya, counou, hébichet, manni, toumalin, djolà, djokome, samboi, bachoua (a fish pot of woven liane). The meanings of these terms are made clear in the other sections.

Before going on with the Carib names of fish, reptiles, birds, animals, etc., it may be as well to look at the all-too-few other parts of speech I have been able to collect as separate words. They consist of numerals, qualifying adjectives, and verbs, together with their derivatives:

a'bá —one.
biá'ma —two.
é'rua —three.
biam'buri —four.[1]
gamabá'tâi —good (as to senses) it is.
irupa'tâi —good (as to fitness) it is.
bâ'meti —sweet, it is.
yetimani —injury, hurt, pain.
yahá'mani —evil, badness.
kyâ'mokya-âli, (kyâ'mukya-âli) —it is cold.
lâ'laha-âli (F) —he is dead.
âmbwé-âli (M) —he is dead.
chalala-ali —he is drowned, immersed.
ga'ru —hard, green, not yet ripe.
ma'ru —soft, overripe.
ka'bura —exposed or turgid glans.
ma'nigíka tiba' —false, lying thou art (m, negative; a'nigi, heart; tiba, thou hast).
mabuka —incompetent (perhaps—"spineless" from abo, bone).
bâ'kaiyâ' —gluttonous, voracious.
ma'buiyâ' —(see above, but looks like adjectival form. Breton gives mala'buiyâ'—"ungood").
(b)iapa'rua —to get drunk (thou).
(a)ba'rama —to call father, husband, master.
ahi'rakua —to pierce, split, copulate.
(a)bi'nahâ —to dance.

---

[1] The Island Carib seem never to have got farther than this. Five was expressed as "all one hand," 10 as two hands, etc.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

192

pépéhe'	=? (perhaps related to pepeito, wind).
wärikad'	=abduction, rape, taking of woman by force.
á'oli, (áori)[2]	=dog.
ara'kuri	=agouti[3] (*Dasyprocta aguti*).
bui'roku	=pig (from Span. "puerco"?).
karató', (karató'ni)	=rat.
máhlu'ri	=bat.
mégu	=cat.
pi'kuri	=agouti[3]
hé'kwé	=snake (generic. C only in "héhwé-congre").
wanaçaé	=snake "tête-chien": Dominica constrictor.
ta'pu hu'a	="crapaud": Dominica's edible toad.
waya'maka	=iguana lizard.
hina'ori	=abolo[3] lizard.
huru'ma	=anoli[3] lizard.
kuku'meru	=mabouya[3] lizard.
warai'ba	=white land crab.
ba'khu, (ba'khri)	=cirique[3] land crab.
yelé'u	="soft-shell" cirique.
u'tu	=fish (generic).
han'nao	=(local name) bourse: a fish.
haçu'lali	=(local name) vive: a fish.
hépi	=(local name) la queue: a fish.
i'çulu	=river crayfish.
kata'ru	=turtle (edible).
kurané	=(local name) grand'gueule: sp. snapper.
ma'buri	=(local name) chaloupe: sp. shellfish.
maku'ba	=(local name) têtard: sp. "flathead."
ma'wali (C)	=(local name) tête-z'os, small vive.
çi'buli	=(local name) nègre: dark-colored fish.
u'lika laka'bo	=(local name) oreilles noires: sp. snapper.
walba'rawa	=shark.
waiwan'nao	=(local name) vivaneau: sp. snapper.
wa'çu (C)	=large variety river crayfish.
watéri'bi	=(local names) tanche, tench.
ka'yu	=domestic hen.
ka'buri	=screech owl, "chat-huant."
ku'rapia'u (C)	=small songbird.
çéçé (C)	=small grassbird.
çiçéru (C)	=Dominica parrot: *Chrysotis augusta*.
waku'kua	=wood pigeon or ramier.
ya'buru	=(local name) crabier: sp. heron.

It might be worth while noting here some of the commoner Creole names of obviously Indian origin (French orthography).

Animals: Manicou, agouti.

Crustaceans, fish, reptiles: Tourourou, cirique, agaya (crabs), balaou, coulirou, moumbain, titiri, valloua, boubou (fish).

Birds, insects: Pipiri, cayali, fin-fin (Indian: ihenni; sp. fly).

Trees, plants: Acouqoui, acoma, cachibou, caconier, couachi, couroupoume, galba (*Calophyllum calaba*), loukrouman (*Ischnosiphon arouma*), l'arali (*Clusia* sp.), yanga, yatta(g)hou (*Syagrus amara* sp?), taouanhi (Car. orth. tawá'l), calabouli.

---

[2] Alonso de Herrera gave "aon" as the Indians' name for the native mute dog, now extinct.

[3] Words so marked seem to be themselves of native origin.

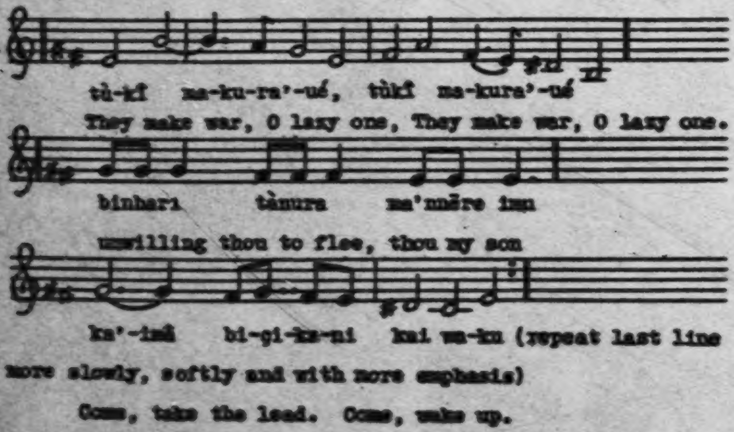
6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

Moreover, such Creole patois expressions as "titac", tote, lélé (a swizzle stick), lolo (penis) probably derive from Carib: titaka, a little bit; totaka, to support; élé, energy; loloti, swollen. 192

Place names, principally those of rivers, were and to some extent still are Indian. Many, however, have been lost through constant rebaptism by new owners, while others, though still remembered by some, are no longer in general use. Thus Couanary has become Castle Bruce, Hiroula is now Blenheim, Cachacrou is Scott's Head, Mamelabou is Hodge's. The following are taken from the Carib quarter and its immediate surroundings. 103

aratu'ri (Atori, Ginette, French River).
aka'yu (Ma' Jenny, Raymond River).
çi'néku (same: a ridge).
kuçara'wa (Ravine Gros Rochers).
kuš'rek (Maho River).
kua'nara (Ravine Viville).
wai'çima (same: a ravine).
kuça'rakua (Rivière Gaulette).
"mekeru" (old negro settlement).
saly'bia (Ste. Marie).
ay'waçi' (same: a ravine).
l'çuluka'ti (Cribiche, Crayfish River).
baraiçi (Bataka: place and river).
wai'nika (a ravine).
kua'ria (Big River: a dry ravine).
wa'raka (Atkinson).
pe'goua (same: river).
çiméri (same: river).
mantipo (same: river).
cachibo'ná (Clyde River).
tu'lamô (Tweed River).

The following little song was taught me by Chief Jolly John, who learned it from Tanaze, now dead: 533 539


tù-kí ma-ku-ra'-ué, tùkí ma-kura'-ué
binhari tàmura ma'nnēre ima
ka'-imá bi-gi-ka-ni kai wa-ku

They make war, O lazy one, They make war, O lazy one.

unwilling thou to flee, thou my son

(repeat last line more slowly, softly and with more emphasis)

Come, take the lead. Come, wake up.

Bar lines divide into groups, not into bars. The meaning of the words was not known to the singer and I cannot vouch for my own translation.

PHRASES, ETC. 192

(1) ma'brika (ma'buika) kariphu'na, yuru-ha'o katu karrêhi'?
Greeting, Carib. Carib, content you? strength
(Are you well?)

(2) ite'lyš karrêhi (tuti or tuki karrêhi)
[illegible] strength (hardy).

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

192 (3) ti'aka (tiakha'ba) nia'bu u'tu
to catch I go fish

(4) ka'imâ waibu'ka a'kao-wa allia'gua
let us go away bathe (us) copulate

(5) ba'yu bu'ka (ha'yu bu'ka) a'kao bu'ka *etc.*
Go (thou) away (go you) go bathe

(6) ka'imâ wa-ta'bura tunē
let us go-us-draw water

(7) tabu' bu'ka tunē
draw go water

(8) en' ni-ta'bu na'ku
here is closing my eyes (I'm going to sleep)

(9) en ay a'takua, en ay-maeri
here thy drink, here thy food

(10) a'la kùa'butu
I want a drink

(11) en kai amulâi'
here let us appease it ("here's how")

(12) ruba' yete takērē tu'nē ni-a'takua
give here some water me to drink

(13) makra'bu-ha'tina
thirst I have

(14) ni-lamâ-ha'tina
me hunger I have

(15) ruba'yte twa-twa nâ'iti nu'ni nuraka'e
give here plenty food to eat (for) my belly

(16) rubai paipaté puman iu'ti kumola'kha
bring go thou from thee a share to smoke (give me some of your tobacco to smoke)

(17) bi'riha-ali arhya'bu ri'cha
lightning tonight rears up (stands out, flashes, streaks)

(18) itê'ke karrēma'ti buinuha'ali nurakae
thanks powerful (for having) filled my belly

(19) me'keru k-hi'iŋçi ka'çi kamukuru (kama-, kamukulu)
negro stinks like grass-gourd (the last word was also said to mean a ghost or spirit)

(20) ibien' biam'buri ka'pa bi'nu
please four pence rum ("kapa" is corrupt English "copper", while "binu" is Spanish "vino")

(21) *pas chagrines* (*patois*) hâbânâ': bai'-ba lakuriçi'
do not bother me not (imperative) go on the beach
lakarahi' ma'buri nu'ni
gather chaloupes to eat (chaloupe—kind of rock-shellfish)

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

(22) bai′-bai, hu′ya, bai′-bai: lakréâ′ nu′bu (iubu)
go away, rain, go away; it is my wish my husband
(or) as much my husband
nuba′yahâ′ (iubayahâ) â′ku amê′ti la′ku (limê′ti ba′ku)
I not jealous as (those) eyes
ba′tibu
thou hast (are of me)[1]

(23) nubuiâ′ru
she is no longer a virgin.[2]

(24) cemehé′êti bano′ki
good is thy ?

(25) Ba′yu ri bam-bam
Go make cassava bread

---

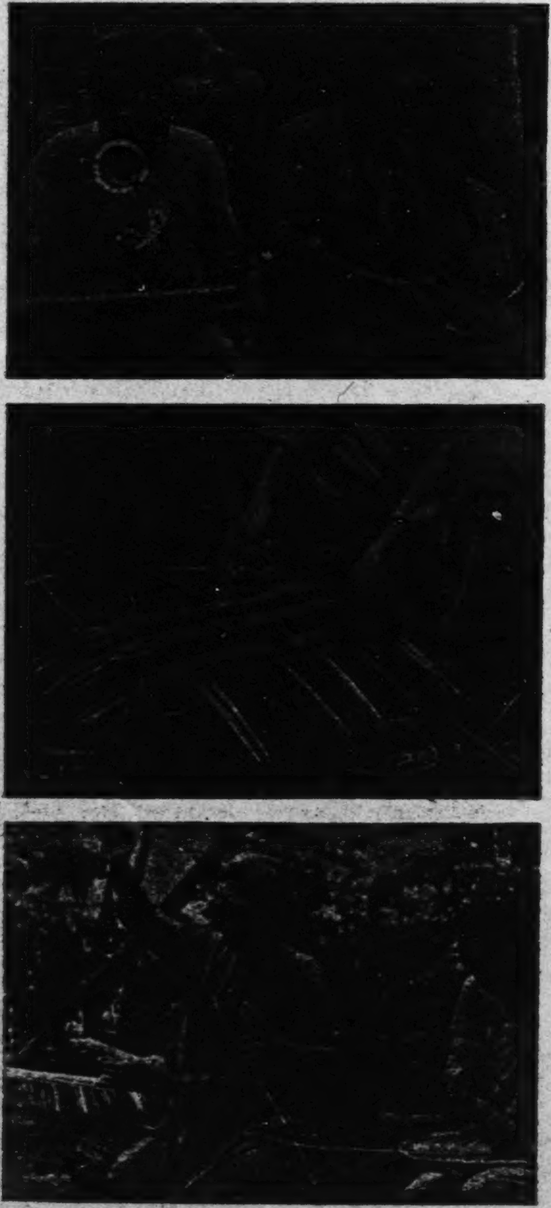
[1] This phrase seems rather obscure, though my informants were agreed as to the general meaning of the whole: that the woman was not jealous of her husband as the rain was jealous. I am very uncertain of the meanings of the two words "l-akré â" and "amê′ti"—or "limê′ti". The first seems to have the same stem as Breton's *ao-cléc*, I wish; the latter to correspond with his *amouti* and *ameati*, celui qui, ceux qui, etc. On the other hand, the alternative—some of my informants gave the word as "limê′ti"—looks suspiciously like "mother-in-law."

[2] This looks like Breton's *noulouboui-caroa*, given as "engonée"; but see above.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

285
291



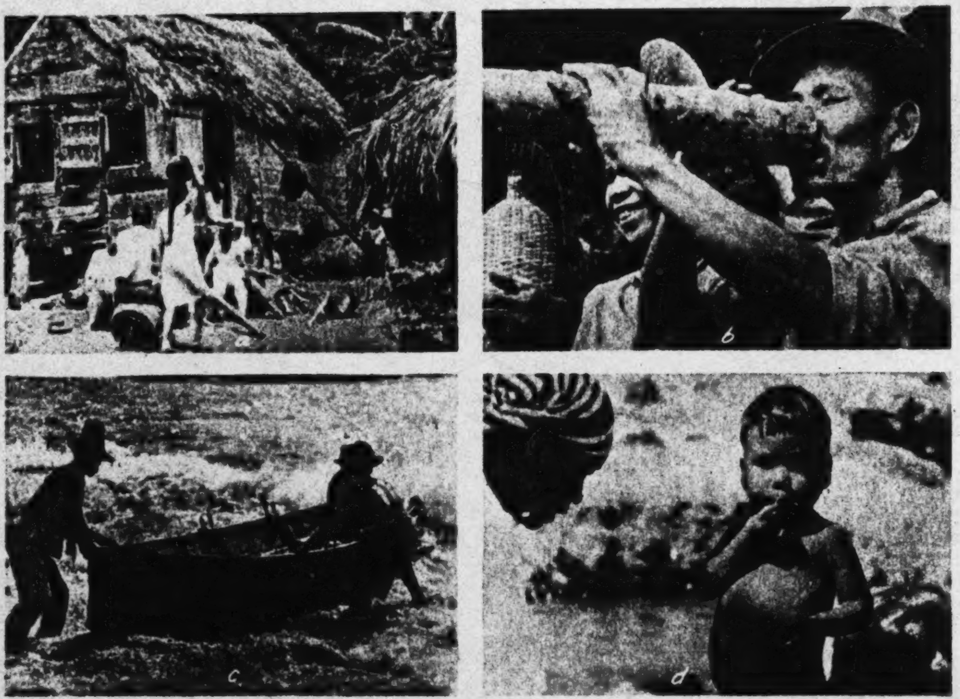
[p.159-A]

Basket making.

3142
501

142
415

[P. 159-B]



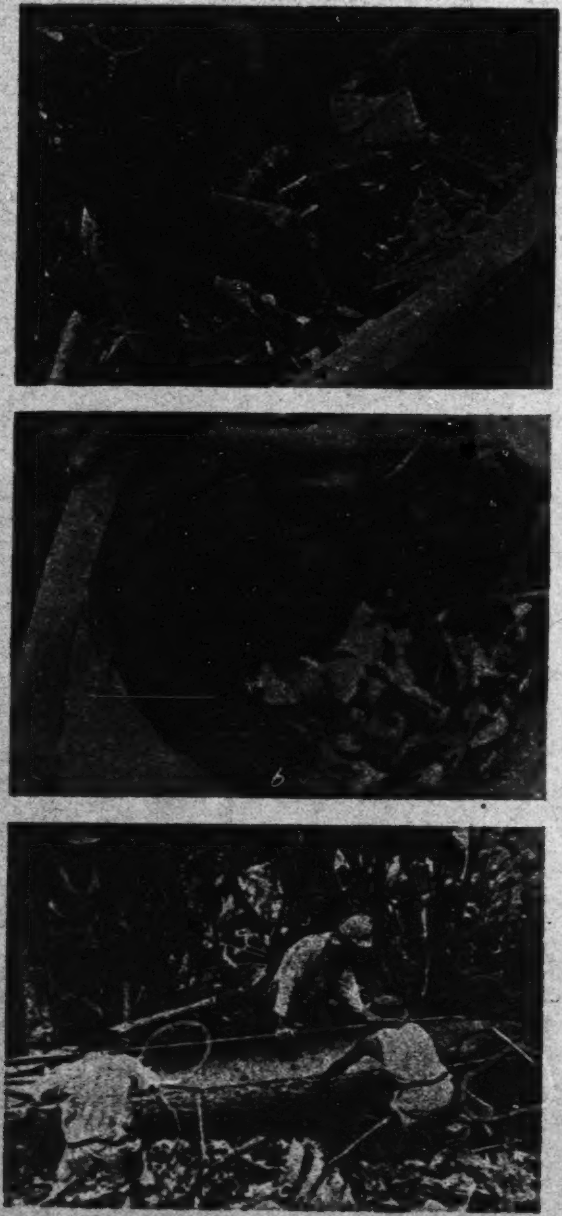
a, Hut in the Reserve. b, Refreshments with bamboo for beaker. c, Launching a canoe. d, Mixed types: Mother and child.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938

ST13 Callinago ST13

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY BULLETIN 119 PLATE 15



396

396
412

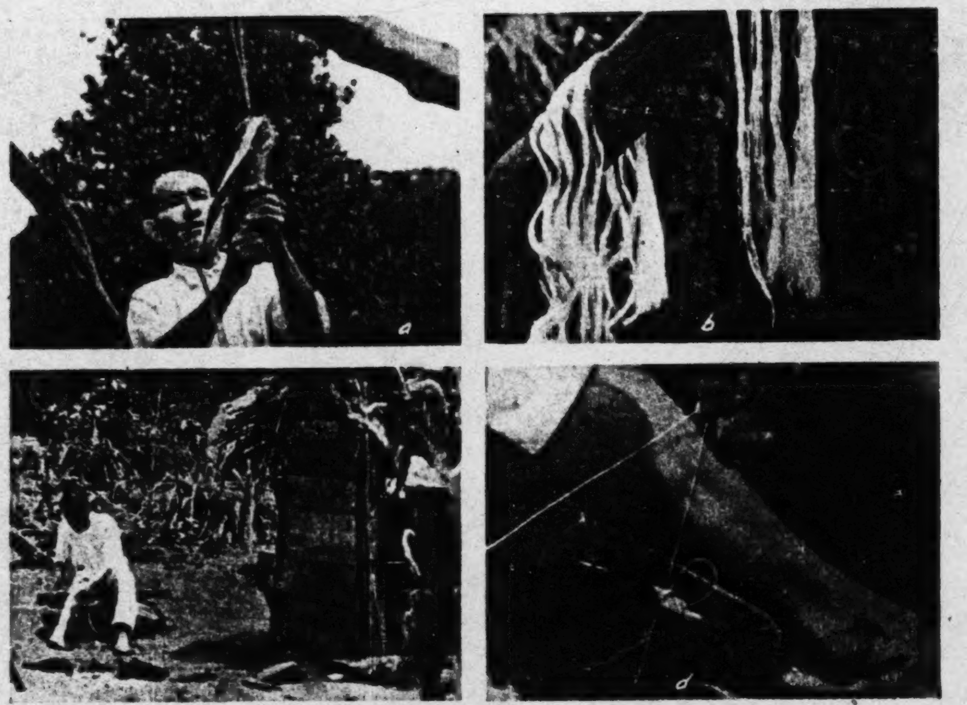
396

a, Working on canoe before hauling. b, Hand adz at work on interior of canoe. c, Preparation for hauling canoe.

[p. 159-C]

283

[a-d59]



a, Drawing "la pite." *b*, "La pite" fiber drying. *c*, *d*, Spinning the twine.

142

[p 159-E]

Carib types: *a*, Man. *b*, *c*, Girls. *d*, Woman.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

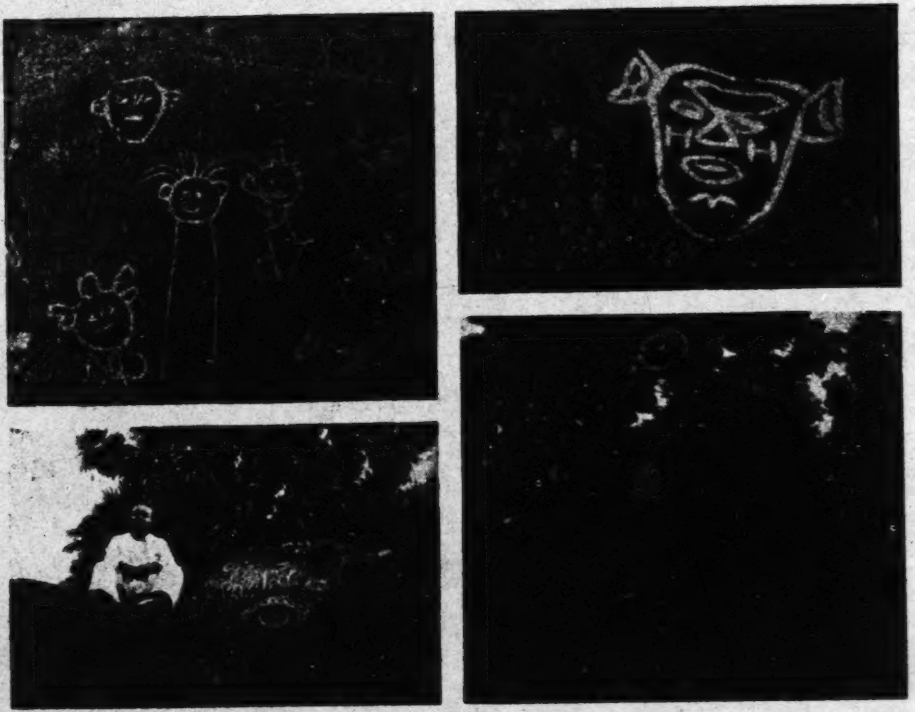
6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

532
172

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 119 PLATE 18

[p. 159-E]



Dominica Carib man and petroglyphs—Guadeloupe.